The New

HISTORY

OF

Count *ZOSIMUS*,

SOMETIME

Advocate of the Treasury

of the *Roman* Empire.

With the Notes of the *Oxford* Edition.

In Six Books.

To which is prefixed

Leunclavius's APOLOGY

for the Author.

Newly Englished.

LONDON,

Printed for *Joseph Hindmarsh*, Bookseller to his Royal Highness, at the *Black Bull* in *Cornhill*, 1684.

G. J. Vossius concerning the Author.

THE Language of Zosimus is concise, expressive, pure and sweet; according to the judgment of Photius (Patriarch of Constantinople) in his Bibliotheca; but being a Heathen, he often reproaches the Christian Princes; and is upon that score reprehended by the same Photius, Evagrius, Nicephorus and others: Yet still Leunclavius is of Opinion, that Zosimus ought to be believ'd even in those Relations, there being no doubt but that the Christian Princes were guilty of many Enormities, which it became a faithful Historian not to pass by.

THE *Author's Work having been subject to multitude of Censures, 'Tis impossible this Translation should escape Reflections.*

But Zosimus *has been thought worthy of an Apology by* Johannes Leunclavius, *a Noble* German, *who also took the pains to translate him into* Latin; *and the History has been printed several times in the last Age; particularly, some Books by that Great Man* Henricus Stephanus, *and the whole by the learned* Sylburgius. *And of late years at* Oxford, *with the knowledg, if not direction, of a Reverend Prelate and Famous University; as also in* Germany, *with the Notes of divers Eminent Persons.*

The French *who make all Excellent Pieces of Antiquity their own, have lately made him speak their Language; and conjoyn'd him with the Historiez of* Xiphilin *and* Zonaras: *and 'tis not unknown, in what Country the Press is kept by Jealous Masters.*

As he now stands in the English *Tongue, if there be any Poison contain'd in Him, it may be Hop'd, that peradventure, there will be found many Men, who understand neither* Greek *nor* Latin, *and yet have Sense enough to avoid Poison.*

J. H.

THE Reader is humbly desired to excuse an *Erratum*, Page 346. where the Notes are put into the History it self. It begins *Hence does*, and ends *Dealt withal.*

Leunclavius's

APOLOGY

FOR

ZOSIMUS,

Against the unjust Reflections of

Evagrius, *Nicephorus*, *Cedrenus*, and others.

ALTHOUGH I were either to Dispute against Men even of a different Religion, or were not to undertake the defence of a Man, who, for having professed the old exploded Pagan Superstition, would certainly at first sight lose any manner of favour that he could expect in his cause among Men of our times; yet encouraged and supported with evident Arguments

from Truth it ſelf, and the weakneſs of thoſe which are brought againſt him by his Adverſaries, I will not fear but that what I have to ſay will with impartial Men obtain. But I foreſee his Defence is like to prove no eaſie Province, being to reply to thoſe Men who under the pretence of defending the Chriſtian Religion and thoſe Princes who were the moſt celebrated Patrons of it, charge one of the moſt elegant and uſeful Hiſtorians with lying and calumniating; and who becauſe he was no Chriſtian muſt not be admitted to be a proper or a faithful reporter of thoſe things which were tranſacted in the Commonwealth. For mankind is generally ſo unhappily built, as eaſily to believe thoſe Men whom they find of the ſame Opinions with themſelves, even in things indifferent, but eſpecially in matters of Religion, crying down in the mean while Men of different Sentiments,, although the things they deliver do not appear repugnant to truth. But ſeeing there is that force in Virtue in general, but eſpecially in truth, that we cannot but approve it even in an Enemy; we hope you will hear what we have undertaken to ſay in a few words in defence of *Zoſimus*, and that Men not too perverſe and diſingenuous will acknowledg that matters of fact may with

candour

candour ond integrity be tranſmitted to future Ages by Men even of a different Religion from our ſelves.

Zoſimus is aſſaulted with abundance of ill language, beſpattered, curſed and given to the Devil for a moſt wicked Fellow, and principally for profeſſing himſelf a Pagan; though I even in this commend the ingenuity of the Man, and yet at the ſame time lament his want of judgment, who being a perſon of extraordinary Wit, yet like the wiſe of the World, as the Scripture ſpeaks, could not diſcern the light of the Divine Truth: but ſeeing that could be no hinderance why he ſhould not faithfully relate and diſcreetly judg of thoſe things which were well or ill done in the adminiſtration of the Government, let us proceed to thoſe things in which the principal force of the Accuſation conſiſts.

They ſay he was unjuſt to the memory of *Conſtantine* for introducing a new Religion and its increaſe under him; and this we may grant them, conſidering it is impoſſible for any Man to wiſh well to him who againſt our wills would alter our Religion, when we think it moſt agreeable to truth, and which has been confirm'd by the Authority and conſent of almoſt innumerable Ages. But what then? Was this hatred of *Zoſimus* towards *Conſtantine* any

motive for him calumniously to write how *Constantine* was the first Emperour that exacted that wicked and intolerable kind of Tax called Χρυσάργυρον or *aurargenteum*, (that which in the Civil Law-Books is term'd *aurum lustrale*, because it was collected every fourth year,) or was it for this reason that he hath related how *Constantine* seized upon the Estates and goods of other Men? a grievous charge indeed, and *Zosimus* is to be reproved for his slanderous way of Writing, if it appear that he hath reported these things of the Emperour untruly: but I am so far from believing that *Zosimus* wants good and indubitable Authors for what he says, that although there needed other Testimonies, yet that *Constantine* cannot be acquitted from this Charge, is evident from one substantial Argument; for either *Constantine* found this grievous imposition already laid upon his People by some of his Predecessours or else he cruelly imposed it himself. If we acknowledg *Constantine* to have been the Author, as *Zosimus* out of the Writers of those times demonstrates we ought to do, what reason is there to accuse him for relating matter of fact, as he had received it from others, as became a faithful Historian; his Adversaries are more to be blamed, who expatiating more in the praises

of

of *Conſtantine* than becomes them, forget the duty of Hiſtorians, and ſeem rather to write Panegyrics and Declamations than Hiſtories.

But let it be ſo that *Zoſimus* forged this againſt him whom he knew to have been the firſt among the Emperours that profeſs'd the Chriſtian Religion, and was therefore reſolved to be revenged of him for deſerting that of his Anceſtours by aſperſing him with the impoſition of a Tax unheard of, and ſo odious to the People.

Well then, *Conſtantine* did onely retain (which yet theſe Cavillers dare not inſiſt on) a moſt hateful cuſtom which he had received from his Predeceſſours; however our excellent Emperour is not altogether innocent, who would not aboliſh a Tax ſo ſordid and abominable, (and introduced by Heathen Princes) after he had himſelf embraced the Chriſtian Religion. For what mighty difference is there between the Author of an evil cuſtom, and him, who when he hath Power does not abrogate a cruel and unjuſt one brought in by thoſe that preceded him? But themſelves deny not but this Tax was collected and with great cruelty too, under Chriſtian Princes; and confeſs that *Anaſtaſius* the firſt a conſiderable time after *Conſtantine* did by a certain wile get all the Books, wherein were the

accounts of this Money, into his own hands, out of all the Provinces, and burn'd them, to the ineſtimable benefit and ſatiſfaction of his poor Subjects. Let them not therefore complain of any injury done to *Conſtantine* till they prove by good and ſubſtantial evidence that *He* was not the Author of this impoſition; and though they ſhould acquit him from being the Author, yet they cannot but confeſs that he will ſtill ſtand equally criminal for approving and retaining ſo horrid and villanous a thing. But let us hear I beſeech you what weighty reaſons they produce, to prove that *Conſtantine* could not be the Author of ſo baſe an Impoſition.

Zoſimus himſelf, ſay they, confeſſes that *Conſtantine* did with incredible expence build *Conſtantinople*, and conſiderably enlarged the ſpace without the Walls of the old City; that he adorn'd it with a Palace no way inferiour to that of *Rome*, and ſeveral other Edifices beautiful and magnificent; that in imitation of the City of *Rome* he granted to the common People a certain allowance of Corn: that the Senators who at his requeſt left *Rome* and went to *Conſtantinople*, he gratified with noble Houſes and conſiderable ſums of Gold. How then ſhould the thought of ſuch a Tax enter into the mind of ſuch a

Prince?

Prince? and *Zosimus* was not aware how he contradicted himself in asserting things almost repugnant and inconsistent of the same Man. These are their Arguments, but who sees not that they are taken from us? *Zosimus* says, that *Constantine* was profuse and extravagant as soon as he had gotten the Empire to himself, and this he proves effectually; that he wasted the publick Revenue by unreasonable largesses, that he consumed vast sums in voluptuousness, impoverish'd the Exchequer by many costly and unnecessary Structures, and lastly mistook Profuseness for Munificence.

If these things shall appear to be true, as certainly they are, no wise Man will think it strange that he found out new ways of extorting Money, and when just and reasonable Methods would not suffice, that he made use of some cruel and unheard of before. He that was wont to throw away such vast sums for his humour, would not want it for his pleasures; for no men are so rapacious after other mens goods as they who most madly waste what they have themselves, upon their own luxury and excess, and to as much purpose do they brag of *Constantine*'s bounty to his Soldiers: and this too they tell you *Zosimus* confesses, and what wonder if having

ving purchaſed the Empire this way, he made uſe of the ſame to keep it; for had he not, there had been no reaſon why the Army ſhould not have preferr'd the lawful Iſſue of *Conſtantius* which he had by his Wife *Theodora*, rather than *Conſtantine*. The riotous and greedy humour of Soldiers will not endure frugal and tenacious Princes, but are ever moſt devoted to them who feed their luſts though to the exhauſting of the publick Treaſury. And impoſſible it is, that thoſe exorbitant largeſſes which are waſted upon thoſe Soldiers, (who having been once corrupted are ever after mutinous) to keep them in their obedience, ſhould not be to the deſtruction of thoſe poor Subjects from whom it is torn with the greateſt cruelty in the World. Hence thoſe new kinds of exactions were meerly to redreſs the effects of prodigality: and to rehearſe theſe kinds of Oppreſſion, whether inſtituted by *Conſtantine*, or the elder *Theodoſius*, or *Valentinian* the firſt, is not impudently to beſpatter or rail at godly and religious Princes, but to relate things as they were, which we obſerving may be able to make uſe of to our advantage. For if we rightly conſider, it amounts to no more than admoniſhing Princes of the preſent and future Ages, that becauſe they profeſs the Chriſtian Religion

gion, they ſhould not flatter themſelves with a belief of ſuch a right to the goods and properties of their Subjects, as *Julian*, and other Pagan Emperours never pretended to, who for their abſtinence, gentleneſs and moderation in Government have been a reproach to ſome who profeſs'd a better Religion.

And the ſame *Zoſimus*, ſay they, in another place applauds this *Conſtantine* for ſome actions of his bravely and valiantly perform'd, and ought not he to have taken care how he diminiſh'd his glory, whom he before had celebrated ſo much? as if it were impoſſible to commend *Conſtantine*, *Theodoſius* and other Chriſtian Princes without approving all that they did; or as if for this very reaſon he did not appear the honeſter Man, and without all controverſie fitter to be an Hiſtorian, who though he obſerved ſome Vices in *Conſtantine*, very notorious, would not yet be ſo unjuſt to his memory, as to omit thoſe things which were commendable in him.

Nor could *Zoſimus*'s hatred to the Chriſtian Religion tranſport him ſo far and hurry him into ſuch undecencies as are too evident and ſcandalous in you, conſidering the Religion you profeſs. For thoſe Princes who would be thought Chriſtian,

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though for the moſt part lewd and immoral Men, you can ſcarce forbear deifying, bellowing out their praiſes to the very Sky; and at the ſame time others, that were deſtitute of that light, though otherwiſe Men of incompatable worth and Virtues, you are not aſhamed to rob even of that praiſe which their merits challenge as their due. I do not now ſpeak of humane frailty, which will not admit a Man ſo to deport himſelf as to be liable to no exception; and therefore wiſe Men acknowledg that of *Theognis* to be true:

Vir bonus interdum malus eſt, alias bonus idem.

I will allow *Conſtantine* to have been indeed a great Man, he was the firſt among the Emperours that aboliſh'd thoſe ſevere and bloody Laws againſt our Religion, he embraced the true Worſhip of God, he removed that Tyranny that had ſo long been exerciſed againſt the Church and the Commonwealth; and laſtly in a great meaſure quieted thoſe inteſtine Differences which were among thoſe of the Chriſtian Profeſſion, by a Convocation of moſt holy Men. Theſe are indeed worthy Actions of an excellent Prince, and ſuch as all good Men will not onely acknowledg but admire

mire and applaud. But their way it was, who have written the Hiſtory of the times about *Conſtantine*, not onely to report thoſe things which were good and commendable, but even thoſe too which can no way be juſtified, and that the Laws of Hiſtory do neceſſarily require, and of conſiderable uſe it is in the life of Man; however it may ſeem to ſully and diminiſh his glory of whom it is related. And if *Zoſimus* have done this with great freedom of ſpeech, he is not certainly more to be reproved for it than ſome others, who profeſſing not the Pagan, as he did, but the Chriſtian Religion, have not ſtuck bitterly to laſh *Conſtantine* as well for thoſe things which *Zoſimus* has likewiſe charged him with, as alſo that an Emperour pretending to be a Chriſtian ſhould promulgate a Law, inſerted in *Juſtinian's Code*, forbidding thoſe to be accuſed for the uſe of Magick Arts, who from thoſe wicked Rites ſeek relief for ſick bodies, and the conſervation of thoſe things which are neceſſary to life; that is, Men who forſake God the fountain of all good things, and expect thoſe aſſiſtances from evil Angels which they deſpair of receiving from the Almighty: as if it were not expreſly forbid in the Scripture, or that the uſe of that could be lawful, which is

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in it self impious and damnable: and not without reason do the same Men discommend *Constantine* for changing his Counsels and resolutions in his old age, when by the persuasion of his Sister *Constantia* he recalled *Arius* the Author of that most pernicious Sect from banishment, and commanded *Athanasius*, who, for his extraordinary Piety and Religion, had so well deserved of his own and all succeeding ages, to be banish'd into *France*; and these are Crimes more inexcusable than what *Zosimus* hath charged him with, these respecting the honour of God, the peace of his Church and the salvation of his Peoples Souls; *Zosimus*, in the mean while complaining chiefly of those things in *Constantine* which tended to the prejudice of the Commonwealth.

And what is *Zosimus*'s Crime, which *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus* make such a stir about, in relating how *Constantine* murder'd his Son *Crispus Cesar*, a most hopeful Youth and of great Virtue, and his own Empress *Fausta*? is not this a singular piece of impudence which denies that to have been done, which the consent of those Writers who are of undoubted veracity, confirms the truth of? But *Eusebius*, say they, who was contemporary with *Constantine* and survived him too, men-

tions not one word of thoſe Parricides. But what if this teſtimony be not good? For I muſt tell you, this kind of Hiſtorians, Prelates I mean, Prieſts and Monks have but a ſcurvy reputation for their fidelity this way; for thoſe Princes who preferr'd them, they do not onely praiſe immoderately, but ſtudiouſly endeavour not onely to free from the guilt, but from the very ſuſpicion too of thoſe Villanies, which, for all that, are too apparent to be either conceal'd or excuſed; and ſome again, and thoſe no mean Perſons, either not fairly paſs'd over, or which is worſe, unjuſtly ſtigmatized. But let us not make uſe of this advantage againſt ſo eminent an Author as *Euſebius*, and therefore allow that either he would not, or durſt not write, his own circumſtances and thoſe of the times not admitting it; for either he wrote his Hiſtory while *Conſtantine* was alive, or ſoon after his death: while he was yet alive he could not, without unavoidable hazard of his life, bring in the ſtory of ſo horrid a Villany, and little leſs could he have expected from *Conſtantius* who ſurvived his Father and Brethren, if he had written it after he was dead. For whom I beſeech you ſhould he ſpare who ſpared not his own blood? ſhall we ſay therefore that thoſe murders of *Conſtantine*

were

were feign'd, becauſe *Euſebius*, for fear of the Father, and when he was dead, of the more cruel Son, durſt not inſert them into his Hiſtory? But *Euſebius*, ſay they, commends *Criſpus*, and therefore very unlikely it is, that he ſhould have been murder'd by his Father; as if an enraged Father who was jealous of his Son's being naught with his Mother-in-law, could in the heighth of his paſſion ſo far command himſelf as to ſpare him becauſe he was a hopeful and a forward Youth: or had not afterwards teſtified his reſentment of the injury he had done ſo excellent and virtuous a Perſon, when touch'd with grief and remorſe for the murder of ſuch a Son, he ſtrangled his own Wife *Fauſta* who was the occaſion of his ſuſpicion, in a Bath. *Euſebius* therefore if he had a mind to be ſafe, could not better conſult his own ſecurity than by wholly declining the mention of *Criſpus*'s murther in his Hiſtory; for one of theſe two he muſt neceſſarily have done, either have made *Criſpus* die innocent, or not; guilty he would not, becauſe the contrary was manifeſt to all Men, and innocent he durſt not, for fear of accuſing the Father: And hence we may truly infer that *Criſpus* was unblameable, becauſe among the reſt who teſtifie his innocence, *Zoſimus* relates how ſadly he

he was lamented by his Grandmother *Helena*; and therefore *Eusebius* for reasons best known to himself left that in doubt which *Zosimus* more remote from that Age ought by no means to have omitted. And truly I cannot but admire what was in the minds of these Men, who not content to have exposed themselves by their zeal against *Zosimus*, will not allow *Constantius* to have been cruel at all, because he did not execute *Vetranio* who had been guilty of Treason: as if one single instance were sufficient to entitle a Man to the Character of a gentle and merciful Prince, (who at other times inhumanly butchered his own Relations) for sparing a Man who by the course of Nature could not live long, of no Birth, not bravely taken or conquered, but circumvented by a meer wile. And the same *Constantius* does *Nazianzen* a Man otherwise prudent enough commend onely out of hatred to *Julian*, a Man in many extraordinary Virtues, not equal, but far superiour to *Constantius*; to whom though you allow his Apostacy to the Pagan follies to have been a reproach, yet I cannot see any reasonable cause why you should so far prefer that other Champion of the *Arian* madness.

And

And now I must prepare to wipe off another Calumny, whereby *Zosimus* is accused partly for belying, partly for reproaching of *Constantine*, in reporting that being troubled in Conscience for having violated all the sacred ties of Religion, for his Murthers and other Villanies, and not being able to obtain such an absolution from the guilt of his sins in the Pagan Religion as would satisfie and quiet his mind, He did by the persuasion of a certain *Spaniard* called *Ægyptius*, come over to the Christian faith, as to a Religion that would give him peace of mind, provided he did with a firm belief and penitent heart apply himself to him whose Office it is to reconcile us to God.

This they who are for acquitting *Constantine* against the faith and stream of Historians will not allow to be true, because it was so long before he would admit of Baptism which is ordained for the washing away of sins; and for this they produce the Authority of *Theodoret*, who hath written how *Constantine* was baptized at *Nicomedia* a little before his death. But this no way invalidates the truth of what *Zosimus* relates; for it was possible for *Constantine* to profess the Christian Religion and not have been baptized; it being a custom which too much prevail'd about

bout that time for many, although Chriſtians by profeſſion, to defer Baptiſm till they were near their ends, out of an Opinion which had then very much obtain'd and which yet even with us is not wholly rejected, *viz.* that after Baptiſm ſuch a ſtrictneſs of life was requiſite as not to admit the leaſt ſlip; and if after it we happen'd to fall, no abſolution or forgiveneſs was ever to be expected again. Although indeed *Theodoret* hath particularly mentioned that *Conſtantine* would not be baptized, always deſiring that in imitation of our Saviour he might at length have that ſacred Rite perform'd in the ſtreams of *Jordan*. This deferring his Baptiſm therefore hinders not at all but that *Conſtantine* was ſufficiently ſatisfied that by his embracing the Chriſtian Religion he was fully acquitted from the guilt of his Crimes. Nor does his being ſo very ſolicitous for a laſting and effectual peace of mind deſerve any blame at all; but rather this paſſage in *Zoſimus* redounds very much to the honour both of *Conſtantine* and our Religion too. For who can blame him for his penitence and being willing to be reſtored to the favour of Almighty God, and for the time to come amend a life ſo wicked and unrighteous as his had been? Who will deny the Chriſtian Re-

ligion to be the most excellent that ever was, which reconciles us to that God who in our Consciences we know is displeased with our iniquities, and gives us that repose and quiet of mind, in which the greatest felicity of our whole life consists, and which the old Philophers did so anxiously and to so little purpose study to acquire?

Any one therefore may see what trifling and unreasonable arguments *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus* make use of to lessen as they please the truth of those things which *Zosimus* like a faithful and wise Historian has deliver'd of *Constantine*, mingling his Virtues with his Vices, as well those things which were commendable in him as what was scandalous and wicked, in which *Constantine* himself seems to have degenerated from his own natural disposition. ought we not rather to remember that most wise saying of *Herodotus*, That there never yet was, nor is there ever likely to be any Man who through the whole course of his life had not some mixture of evil, and with extraordinary Virtues, Vices as extraordinary? And what if a Pagan talk unskilfully of our Religion? ought that to be any motive for us to treat *Zosimus* at that rate, or condemn him never to be read again?

And

And to as much purpoſe do they ſay, that *Zoſimus* lyes in affirming that from that time the Chriſtian Religion was introduced, the *Roman* Empire was haraſs'd by the barbarous part of the World, and in its extent diminiſh'd, and ſcarce any remains of its ancient grandeur, but reſembled ſome mighty Fabrick with patch'd Roofs and ſupported with buttreſſes; and to refute this they produce a Liſt of a great many Provinces added to the *Roman* Empire after our Saviour was born, and had publiſh'd his Religion to the World, as part of *Macedonia*, *Albania*, &c. Though this be no better than a Cavil and no juſt Reply. For *Zoſimus* ſpeaks not of the beginning and as it were the Infancy of our Religion, but obſerves it of thoſe times wherein it was ſpread and had gotten ſome force, and by the light and power of its Doctrine had ſo diſpell'd the miſts of Paganiſm, and beaten out the Superſtitions of the Heathens, that neither Prince nor People had any veneration or eſteem for the Rites and Ceremonies of their Anceſtours; but if we ſhall look cloſer into that which they ſay of the Provinces reduced under the *Roman* juriſdiction, 'twill be a queſtion whether the ignorance or impudence of theſe Cavillers is moſt to be admired; for *Zoſimus* will immediately

reply, and truly too, that those Conquests are owing to the Valour and Conduct of the *Luculli, Pompeii, Julii, Vibii, Drusi, Trajani* and the rest of those Pagan Heroes; and on the contrary will charge the loss of them to our account; nor indeed can we with any modesty or umbrage of Truth deny but that it was so. Wherefore we must find out other Arguments to confute *Zosimus*, and assign other causes why some Nations and Empires are reduced to confusion and ruin at some certain ominous and unlucky times, and by no means allow the institution of the Christian Religion to be the occasion, as some mistaken Men blinded with the prejudice of Education and the impressions they received from their Forefathers would insinuate, when the like contingencies are evident from ancient Histories, and we daily see the experience of it our selves.

But to return to these Men who are so much for lashing of *Zosimus*, who, labouring to prove against him, that the Commonwealth flourish'd more under Christian than Pagan Emperours, object the unfortunate expedition of *Julian* against the *Persians:* but because Men differ in their Opinions concerning this Prince, and the ancient Divines more especially are most injust in theirs. Before we proceed in the defence

defence of *Zosimus*; let us see what manner of Man this *Julian* was, setting aside the business of Religion; and we shall find in him very many, not faint stroaks, but strong and expres signs of extraordinary Virtues, which if his mistake in Religion had not obscured, you might have beheld in him, though but a young Man, the most admirable and perfect Idea of a good and excellent Prince, he had a vigorous Wit and capacious understanding, adorn'd from his Childhood, not, as Noblemen use to be, with a slight and superficial knowledg, but he attain'd such a perfection in all the liberal Sciences, that by confession of all sides he excelled even his Masters, Men too most eminent themselves; and that he has deservedly this reputation for Learning, needs no other proof, than those elegant and elaborate Pieces of his which are yet extant; and that he was no mean Civilian is evident from his Rescripts which are still to be seen in the Books of the Civil Law. Now as to what relates to his other Accomplishments; the warlike *Germans* by sad experience almost to their destruction are proofs of his singular Fortitude and Prudence in Military Affairs, who fearing even the extinction of their name became Petitioners to a young Man for Peace; a People who had given Laws

to the mightieſt Emperours both before and after *Julian:* and during theſe Wars it is incredible how great was his frugality and temperance both in eating and drinking, how little he ſlept, and what pains he took, contemning all the Charms and allurements of Pleaſure; he lived like a Philoſopher amidſt the claſhing of Swords and ſound of Trumpets: and a very great inſtance of a modeſty that ſeem'd a ſtranger to Ambition did he give, when *Conſtantius* married him to his Siſter *Helena*, and made him *Ceſar* when he thought of nothing leſs. For when by the Emperour's command the Purple Cloak was thrown over him, willing to ſhew how little he eſteem'd that Princely Garment, he repeated this Verſe of *Homer*,

Purpurei vis leti & inexorabile fatum
Occupat.

His gentleneſs and readineſs to forgive Men, was very often remarkable, and then eſpecially when the *Antiochians* had jeſted upon him more ſharply and ſaucily than became Subjects to their Prince, he was content with the revenge of a moſt witty Oration, which though it were to their ſhame, could not be read without delight to others.

His

His Chaſtity, a Virtue ſo rare in great Princes, he did ever ſo carefully prefer, as not onely during the life of his Wife never to violate, but even after her death, in the very flower of his age refuſed to marry again, yet ever abhorr'd all unlawful love; nor contented to demonſtrate by his practice how much he eſteem'd this Virtue, he had always in his mouth theſe Verſes of *Bacchilides* an ancient Poet,

Vt quum de ſtatuâ facies formoſa revulſa eſt
Non decus in reliquo corpore truncus habet;
Sic reliquî mores ſpreti ſine honore jacent,
Ni ſint ornati laude pudicitiæ.

Who can be ſo brutiſh and diſingenuous as not to admire and celebrate a Man ſo illuſtrious for endowments of mind and body as *Julian*, in whom ſo excellent a Wit, as appears from his Sayings, ſo much Learning, from his Writings, ſuch Skill in the Civil Law, from his Reſcripts, ſo much Valour, from his Actions, ſo much Modeſty, from his Behaviour, ſuch Chaſtity, from his Continence, were ſo remarkable and conſpicuous? yet ſome there are ſuch ſtrangers to humanity, who under the

pretence onely of his defection from the Christian faith, impudently deny him those praises which are due to his Virtues, and are not ashamed to proclaim him for an unfortunate Prince and pernicious to the Commonwealth, because, say they, he was unsuccessful against the *Persians*, and being slain in the Enemies Country had like to have ruined the Empire. Whereas indeed the *Persians* and the *Germans*, two Nations so fatal and terrible to the *Romans*, he reduced to such streights, that the *Germans* broken with such dismal overthrows, earnestly sought Peace, and when they had obtain'd it from him, they religiously observed it as long as he lived, out of fear of so fortunate a young Man; though at other times a People unquiet and impatient of rest and leisure: and the *Persians* terrified with a series of Victories, durst no more come fairly into the field, nor fight upon equal terms, but burning and destroying their own Country, were forc'd to confess that they wanted but a little of a total subversion; and whatever of terrour or damage was brought upon the *Romans* was owing to *Jovian*, a Man of our own Religion, who to the eternal reproach of the *Roman* name became almost a petitioner for Peace to an Enemy even conquered himself, and appeased

peaſed thoſe by the ſurrender of I know not how many Provinces, whom he ought to have made buy a Peace at the price of ſome of their own Territories. What ſtrange humour is this then, that Men ſhould take delight to lay thoſe miſcarriages upon other Men which are in truth to be charged upon our ſelves?

And now let us ſee with what weighty Arguments theſe Cenſurers undertake to demonſtrate how the Chriſtian Princes have been much juſter and braver Perſons than thoſe that were Pagans, and that the Commonwealth flouriſhed more under them. The Pagan Princes ſay they, were moſt of them ſlain and plagued with Seditions; whereas ours were neither murther'd by their Domeſticks nor by forein Enemies, and therefore the times wherein they reigned are to be accounted happier than the others. I think we need not go very far to ſhew them how very forgetful or how infatuated they are with endeavouring to calumniate others. Are not they I beſeech you to be accounted Domeſticks that are related to us by blood? and after our Parents are not our Brethren next akin? and will not our Couſin-germans ſucceed in courſe? Let us ſee then what was acted between the Sons of *Conſtantine* who all profeſs'd the Chriſtian Religion. *Conſtans*

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the youngeſt of theſe, having ſurprized his eldeſt Brother *Conſtantine* by a wile, dreaming of no ſuch matter, barbarouſly murther'd him by a company of baſe Aſſaſſines. *Magnentius* a Rebel ſlew this very *Conſtans* polluted with the blood of his Brother, *Conſtantius* the onely ſurviver, ſavagely hunting after the blood of his own Kinred ſo long, till at length having deſtroyed the poſterity of his Brother, his own Family became extinct. What ſadder and more tragical Examples of Parricides than theſe can you expect? but theſe our fine Hiſtorians never ſo much as thought of; theſe, which were indeed a ſtumbling-block to thoſe who before having no great kindneſs for our Religion, were confirmed in their abhorrence by this bloody and inhumane Scene.

But what *Zoſimus* relates of the Immoralities of the Emperour *Valens*, *Evagrius* takes not ſo ill, becauſe he was a defender of the *Arian* Hereſie; ſeveral of the Ancients, among whom *Paulus Varnefridus*, commonly called *Diaconus*, and *Jornandes* complain of him as the Author of that wicked Law (as they term it) by which he reſtrain'd thoſe vaſt numbers of thoſe, who under pretence of Religion affected Solitudes and took upon them a kind of Monkiſh life; and that Perſons fit for the ma-

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nagement of Affairs and the ſupport of the Commonwealth ſhould be fetch'd out of thoſe holes, and forc'd according to their ſeveral capacities either to enter into the Wars, or the diſcharge of civil Duties; and truly for this very reaſon I think *Valens* undeſervedly reprehended; and ſome there are who think this Law brought into uſe for the raiſing proviſions for the Army out of thoſe allowances which went towards the maintenance of thoſe Lubbards, and that good Troops might be form'd out of them and paid without the charge of the Commonwealth, by turning thoſe Revenues that way, which by the ſuperſtitions of their Predeceſſors had been bequeathed to the feeding the Bellies of a parcel of lazy Monks.

And here you ſee what it is *Evagrius* and *Nicephorus* make ſuch ado about againſt *Zoſimus*. But their empty and trifling reaſons for excuſing Chriſtian Princes, their vanity in accuſing Pagans, their impudence in denying the truth, and their ignorance in aſſerting falſhoods, I hope I have ſufficiently expoſed.

There remains *Photius* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who charges *Zoſimus* for barking like any Dog againſt the Godly; but we have before ſhewn that there is no hurt in his barking, nor any venom in his bite: which that it may be evident

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in a few words: We see through the whole History of *Zosimus*, *Constantine* is reproved by him for the cruelty of his exactions, his Parricides,, his Luxury, his profuseness; which Vices it seems, even the Christian Religion could but little restrain in him. He objects to his Sons their slaughter of one another, and the murther of their Kinred. He shews the sloth of *Jovian*, and the cowardise of his mind in quitting those Provinces which belonged to the Empire. He sets a mark upon *Valentinian* for his unreasonable suspicion, and thence his cruelty to such as he distrusted, his oppressing his People with immoderate and unreasonable Taxes. In *Gratian*, he shews how his too great affection towards the barbarous Nations, and his contempt of his own Subjects were the occasion of his death and an alteration in the Commonwealth. He blames *Theodosius* for changing and augmenting the number of Magistrates and selling of their places, and his being so excessively given to voluptuousness; though excepting these, he as freely praises him. He terms his Son *Arcadius* no better than beast, for being governed onely by Eunuchs and idle Women to the extream detriment of the Commonwealth and the grief of all good Men; and says that *Honorius* was even as slothful as his Brother,

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These are those godly Princes, I suppose, against whom *Photius* complains *Zosimus* has bark'd, in exposing their Vices to the World; who nevertheless if he found any thing that deserved commendation he never dissembled it. Add the Pillars of our Religion, St. *Chrysostom*, who he says was wont with great Eloquence to soften and cajole the unlearned Rabble: and Pope *Innocent*, who opposed not the use of those impious Rites for the safety of the City, as if he had had that of *Virgil* in his mind,

Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta mo- (*vebo.*

And lastly the Monks, whom he takes notice of for abstaining from Marriage, filling Cities and Villages with Colledges of single People, of use neither to the Wars, nor to any civil Duty in the Commonwealth: but have ever since gone a certain way whereby they have secured a considerable part of the Earth to themselves, and under pretence of relieving the poor, have reduced a great part of mankind to beggery. And here you see the yelping *Photius* is so displeas'd at.

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In whole other things wherein *Zosimus* hath reflected upon the Christian Religion, you may observe a kind of admirable return or Circle of Times and humane things. He relates how *Gratian* died by a kind of Judgment for refusing to put on the Garment of the *Pontifex Maximus*, according to the custom of his Predecessours, declaring himself a Christian and no Worshipper of the host of Heaven: which Garment was wont to be presented to the Pagan Emperours with the same Ceremony as in succeeding ages the Christian used to put on the *Stolæ Diaconatus*. He reports how the Senate in defence of the Religion they had received from their Ancestours, laid before *Theodosius* the Antiquity of their Rites and Worship, having derived them from the very foundation of their City, and by the observing of which the People of *Rome* had preserved their Empire twelve hundred years; that it was unreasonable to prefer a Religion that had so little to say for it self to one so ancient and august: And adds, how *Theodosius* abolish'd those sacred Rites which by the Institution of his Ancestours ought to have been perpetual, how he forbad sacrificing at the Publick charge, and commanded provisions for the Army to be raised out of them for the safety of the *Roman* Empire; He com-

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plains of his removing the Images, and ſhortly after, the Statues of Gold and Silver and coining vaſt ſums of Money out of them, which he was afterwards forc'd to part with to *Alaric* to buy a Peace at his hands; that *Serena Theodoſius's* Niece ſacrilegiouſly rob'd the Mother of the Gods of her Jewels and wore them herſelf; and that her Husband *Stilico* took away thoſe huge Plates of Gold which were affixed to the doors of the Temple belonging to the *Capitol*. But who is there this has not ſeen the like in our days and heard the ſame Complaints? From all which it is evident that that common Enemy of mankind that he might obſtruct the true Worſhip of God, has always been the ſame. But 'tis my Opinion, that Wiſe Men will be ſo far from refuſing to read *Zoſimus*, that the variety of theſe kinds of Relations will render him more acceptable and delightful.

This is what I had to offer in his Defence againſt the frightful Invectives of ſome Writers; and which I hope will obtain among thoſe Men who are capable of making a right judgment of things. I could if I pleas'd or thought it worth my while inlarge in the juſt praiſe of *Zoſimus's* Hiſtory; But becauſe, as they ſay, Good Wine needs no Buſh, I will no longer detain

tain the Reader from entertaining himself better with the most Elegant Writings of our Author; and I promise my self, that excepting those things which relate to Church-Affairs, the learned Reader will in all others prefer him far before either *Eusebius*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen* or *Theodoret*; or if out of a religious kind of scruple they are afraid to prefer a Pagan to those Ecclesiastical Writers of the upper Form, yet we do not at all doubt but they will without dispute allow him to equal them in his way, and not so much as admit the rest of them as *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, &c. into competition with him.

A New

A New

HISTORY

Written by

Count *ZOSIMUS*,

Sometime Advocate of the Treasury.

The First Book.

WHEN *Polybius* of *Megalopolis* design'd to write the *History* of all remarkable passages in his time, he thought it the best way to shew from matter of fact, that the *Romans*, who had Wars with their neighbouring Nations for six hundred years after the building of their City, gain'd, in that time, no very great *Dominions*. But when they had re-

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duced some small part of *Italy*, which, after *Hannibal* came over, at the Battel of *Cannæ*, they lost; and saw their Enemies lie before their Walls, they grew so great and fortunate, that, in less than fifty three years, they were masters not onely of all *Italy* and *Africk*, but subdu'd the *Spaniards* too. And being still desirous to propagate their *Empire*, they pass'd the *Ionian Bay*, conquer'd the *Grecians*, and ruin'd the *Macedonians*, whose *King*, that then was, they took alive and carry'd to *Rome*. Now the *cause* of all this no man will say was *meerly humane*; but either *fatal Necessity*, or the *Influence of the Stars*, or the *Will of God*, which favours all our Actions, as long as they are just and good. For these things lay such a train of seeming causes upon future contingencies, that thinking men suppose, the *Administration* of humane affairs is managed by divine *Providence*; so that when peoples *Spirits* are up and vigorous, they thrive and are in good plight, but, on the contrary, when these are dejected and want courage, those dwindle into the present circumstances.

But my business is, to shew from the things themselves, that what I say is true; and therefore I must tell you, That after the *Trojan War* until the Battel of *Marathon*, the *Greeks* did nothing, that I know, worth the

the ſpeaking of either againſt each other, or any body elſe. But when *Darius*, by his *Prefects*, or great *Governours* of Towns and *Provinces*, came to oppoſe them with infinite numbers of men, eight thouſand *Athenians*, inſpir'd, as it were, from *Heaven*, and arm'd by meer chance, ran out to meet him, and got ſo much the better of it, that they kill'd ninety thouſand and forced the reſt to fly the Countrey. And this fight it was, that put the *Grecians* into a far better condition than formerly. But when *Darius* was dead, and *Xerxes* came with an Army ſo much greater, that he ſeemed to bring all *Aſia* into *Greece* (for he fill'd the *Sea* with *Ships* and the *Land* with *Souldiers*) he found it neceſſary to croſs over from *Aſia* into *Europe*; and therefore, as if the two *Elements* of *Earth* and *Water* had not been capable of receiving his Army, unleſs they had robb'd each other of their natural uſe, he made a Bridg over the *Helleſpont* for the Foot-Soldiers to march upon; nay, he cut a paſſage through the *Mountain Athos*, where *Ships* rode as in the *Sea*. Whilſt in the mean time the *Grecians*, though they were terrified at the very report of ſuch an Enemies approach, yet they prepared for him as well as they were able. And in one *Sea-fight* at *Artemiſium* and another at *Salamis*,

they obtain'd a Victory so far beyond the former, that *Xerxes* was glad to escape with his life, when he had lost most of his Army; whilst the remaining part of them, that were slain at *Plataeæ*, did, by their deaths, so much advance the glory of the *Grecians*, that in the strength of their reputation and renown, they not onely set the *Greeks*, that were in *Asia*, at *Liberty*, but possess'd themselves of almost all the *Islands*.

And indeed, if they had been unanimous among themselves, and content with their then present condition, nor the *Athenians* fallen out with the *Lacedemonians* about the *Government* and *Menage* of *Greece*, they would never have had any *forein Lords*. But when the *Peloponnesian War* had weakned the strength of the *Greeks*, and made their Cities poor, *Philip* had room and opportunity to enlarge that Kingdom, which his Father left him, by arts and stratagems, though he was not equal in strength to any of his neighbours. For he did so oblige his own *Souldiers*, and all others that wou'd fight under his Command, with Money, that he grew great enough to engage with the *Athenians* at *Cheronea*, and, after that Victory, was so kind and courteous, and won so much upon all men, that he thought himself well enough pre-

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pared to go againſt the *King* of *Perſia*. But before he cou'd raiſe a competent number of men, he died.

Then *Alexander* came to be *King*, who aſſoon as he had ſetled Affairs in *Greece*, went over into *Aſia* with a conſiderable Army. Where having conquer'd the *Satrapes* (i. e. *Governours* of *Provinces*) who oppoſed him, he made his way toward *Darius* himſelf, who with an innumerable Hoſt had taken all the places about *Iſſus*. And there engaging with the *Perſians* he gain'd an incredible Victory, routed *Darius*, and went himſelf through *Phœnicia*, and *Syria* into *Paleſtine*. (What he did at *Tyre* and *Gaza*, you may read in thoſe *Hiſtorians* that have written concerning *Alexander*.) From thence he marched into *Egypt*, and when he had paid his Devotion to *Jupiter Ammon*, and order'd the building of *Alexandria*, return'd to finiſh the *Perſian War*. But on his way thither, finding all people had a kindneſs for him, he went into *Meſopotamia*; and though he heard that *Darius* had a greater Army than before, now in readineſs, yet he proceeded with what forces he then had and engaged with him at *Arbela*; where he was ſo victorious that he kill'd almoſt all *Darius*'s men, and ruin'd the *Perſian Monarchy*, though the *King* himſelf eſcaped.

After that, when *Beſus* had kill'd *Darius*, and *Alexander*, having atchiev'd great things in *India*, was come again to *Babylon*, he died. Upon whoſe deceaſe the *Macedonian Government* being divided into *Satrapies* or *petit Principalities*, and enfeebled by continual Wars among themſelves, *Fortune* ſubdu'd the remaining part of *Europe* to the *Romans*. And then going over into *Aſia*, fighting the *Kings* of *Pontus* and *Antiochus*, and making War afterward againſt the *Dynaſtes* or *Princes* of *Egypt*, they enlarged the *Empire* ſomething every year, as long as their *Senate* ſtood, by reaſon that their *Conſuls* were ambitious of out-doing one another. But when the *Civil Wars* betwixt *Sylla* and *Marius*, as, afterward, betwixt *Julius Ceſar* and *Pompey the Great*, had ruined the *Commonwealth*, they laid aſide the *Ariſtocracy* [or Government of the Nobility] and choſe *Octavianus*, *Dictator*: committing the whole Adminiſtration of Affairs to him alone, without conſidering, that *they had thrown* (as it were) *the Dice* upon all peoples hopes and ventur'd the hazard of that vaſt *Empire* upon one Mans inclination and power. For whether he deſign'd to govern by *Juſtice* aud *Equity*, he cou'd not pleaſe all men; as not being able to aſſiſt them that were at a great diſtance, in any

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convenient time, nor cou'd he find out ſo many *Officers*, that wou'd be aſhamed not to anſwer the character or judgment given of 'em; or ſuit himſelf to ſo many different humours: or whether he wou'd break through the bounds of Imperial *Kingly Government*, and move toward *Tyranny*, by diſturbing the preſent eſtabliſhments, winking at great Crimes, ſelling of *Juſtice*, and looking upon *Subjects* as *Slaves* (as moſt *Emperours*, and indeed almoſt all, except ſome few, have done) it muſt of neceſſity follow, that his unbounded, brute power would prove a common *Calamity*. For fawning Raſcals and *Paraſites* are prefer'd by ſuch a *Governour* into places of greateſt *Truſt*, by the help of thoſe *Eſtates* and *Honours* that he beſtows upon them. Whilſt modeſt, quiet men, that are averſe to ſuch a way of living, do very juſtly reſent their own not enjoying the ſame benefits. And hence it is that *Towns* are fill'd with inſurrections and tumults; for when all *Offices* both Civil and Military are confer'd upon covetous Magiſtrates, it makes both the Citizens uneaſy in Peace, and diſcourages the Souldiers in War.

Now that this is ſo, experience has plainly ſhewn, together with thoſe things that happen'd ſoon after in the Reign of *Octavianus*. For the *Dance* called *Pantomi-*

mus [which signifies, a *Dance in imitation of every body*] was introduced at that time, though it had never been used before, since *Pylades* and *Bathyllus* invended it; besides a great many other things that occasion much mischief even to this day. But indeed *Octavianus* seemed to govern very moderately, especially after he took *Athenodorus* the *Stoicks* counsel, and in respect of *Tiberius*, who succeeded him: for he was so severe a *Tyrant*, that his Subjects could not endure him, but expelled him into an *Island*, where he lay private for some time and then died. After him *Caius Caligula*, who far exceeded *Tiberius* in all sorts of wickedness, was slain by *Chereas*, who by that bold action resolv'd to free the Commonwealth from his cruel *Tyranny*. Then *Claudius* came to be *Emperour*, who committed all his Affairs to the conduct of *Libertines* [the Sons of those who had been Slaves] that were *Eunuchs*, and made a shameful end; so that *Nero* and his *Successors* were then advanced to the Imperial *Throne*. Of whom I resolve not to say one word, because the *World* shall not know, what monstrous and enormous actions they were guilty of. But *Vespasian*, and his Son *Titus* were much more moderate in their time; as, on the other hand, *Domitian* surpass'd all others in cruelty,

elty, luxury and avarice: for which reaſon when he had been a plague to the *Commonwealth* for fifteen years together, he was kill'd by *Stephanus*, one of his *Freemen*, and ſeemed to ſuffer juſtly for his wicked actions.

From this time good men ſucceeded in the *Empire*, as *Nerva*, *Trajan*, and after him *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, and that pair of Brothers called *Verus* and *Lucius*, who corrected many *Errours* in the *State*, and not onely recover'd what their Predeceſſors had loſt, but made likewiſe ſome new additions. But after them, when *Commodus* the Son of *Marcus* had been *Emperour*, who was addicted not only to *Tyranny* but even prodigious Vices beſides, till *Marcia* his *Concubine* took manly courage and kill'd him, the *Empire* was conferred upon *Pertinax*. But the *Court Guards* being not able to endure his ſtrict way of exerciſe and Diſcipline, which made 'em mutinee and kill him alſo, *Rome* had like to have been all in an uproar and confuſion, whilſt the *Pretorian Soldiers*, that were deſign'd to ſecure the Palace, endeavour'd to extort out of the *Senate* hands the power of making a *Sole-governour*. And now the *Empire* being ſet to Sale (as it were) one *Didius Julianus*, by the inſtigation of his Wife, and through more folly than Wiſdom

dom, produced a ſum of money wherewith he purchas'd the *Empire*; and made ſuch a *Shew* as the people ne'r ſaw in their lives before, or any other *legal Attendance*; beſides the Soldiers, who ſet him up, and by violence gave him poſſeſſion of the Palace, with all the furniture that was in it. But he was call'd in queſtion and taken off too, by thoſe very men that raiſed him to his *Honour*, nor was his Life any more than a momentany, golden *Dream*.

When he was removed, the *Senate* ſate in conſultation, who they ſhould chooſe *Emperour* in his room, and pitched upon *Severus*. But *Albinus* and *Niger* pretending a right of *Government* at the ſame time, there aroſe fierce *civil Wars* between 'em; ſo that the Cities were divided, ſome being for one ſide and ſome for the other. Whereupon there were great commotions in the *Eaſtern parts* and in *Egypt*; nor did the *Bizantians*, who were *Nigers* friends and entertain'd him, refuſe any dangerous *Attempt*, till *Severus* got the Victory and *Niger* was kill'd. After whom *Albinus* alſo quitted the *Empire* and this *World* together, ſo that the ſole Power was now devolv'd upon *Severus*. He therefore apply'd himſelf to rectifie thoſe things that had been carried with ſuch exorbitancy, inflicting in the firſt place ſevere puniſh-

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ments upon the Souldiers that kill'd *Pertinax* and deliver'd up the *Empire* to *Julianus*. Which having done and ſetled the *Militia*, he went againſt the *Perſians*, and in the ſame expedition took *Cteſiphon* and *Babylon*, over-ran the *Arabians*, (called *Scenites*, from their living in *Tents*) conquer'd *Arabia* in general, and did many other great Exploits; beſides that he was inexorable to Delinquents and made a publick diſtribution of their goods, who were guilty of any heinous Offence.

Having adorn'd a great many Cities with ſumptuous Buildings, he declared his Son *Antoninus Emperour*, but, being near his death, left, not only him, but his other Son *Geta* alſo, coheirs in the *Government*, and made *Papinianus* (a very juſt perſon and one that was more skill'd in the knowledg and interpretation of the *Law* than any *Roman* either before or ſince) their *Guardian* or *Protector*. But *Antoninus* not long after ſuſpected this worthy Perſon, who was *Prefect of the Court*, for no other reaſon, but becauſe he did what he could to fruſtrate a Deſign that *Antoninus* had laid againſt his Brother *Geta*, and *Papinianus* had diſcover'd. He therefore reſolved to remove this Obſtacle, and with the Soldiers contrived *Papinianus*'s deſtruction. After which when he had his hands

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at liberty he slew his Brother whom even his own Mother could not save, though he fled to her for protection.

But not long after, *Antoninus* paid for murthering his Brother, nor was the person that slew him ever known. And then the Souldiery at *Rome* chose *Macrinus*, who was *Prefect of the Court* (as *Papinianus* had been) *Emperour*, whilst those in the *Eastern Countreys* set up *Emisenus*, who was a kin to *Antoninus*'s Mother. Now therefore both Armies were so tenacious of what they had done, that there arose a civil broil between 'em, and whilst *Emisenus Antoninus*'s men were bringing him to *Rome*, *Macrinus*'s Army march'd out of *Italy*. And when, at *Antioch* in *Syria*, the two Armies had engaged, *Macrinus* was so totally defeated, that he was forced to fly the Camp, but between *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* was taken and killed.

When *Antoninus* had gotten this Victory and punished all those that sided with *Macrinus*, as Enemies, he lived such a dissolute, scandalous life, conversing so much with *Magicians* and *Juglers* that the *Romans*, not able to endure his excessive Luxury, murther'd him, tore his body in pieces, and declared *Alexander*, *Emperour*, who came likewise of *Severus*'s Family. Who though he were but young, yet he

was

was a perſon of a good Nature, and put all people in hopes that he would prove an eaſie *Governour*. For he made *Flavianus* and *Chreſtus Prefects* of his *Court*, who were men not onely well vers'd in Military affairs, but excellent alſo in the management of civil Buſineſs. But *Mamæa* the *Emperours Mother* ſet *Ulpianus* as an *Inſpector* or *Overſeer* over them, and indeed as a *Partner* in their *Office*, (becauſe he was an incomparable *Lawyer* and one that knew not onely how to regulate the preſent Affairs, but to provide with all prudence for the future) at which the Souldiers were ſo offended, that they privately contrived his ruin. Which when *Mamæa* underſtood, ſhe prevented their Deſign by taking off the *Conſpiratours*, and making *Ulpian* the ſole *Prefect* belonging to the *Court*. But after that being ſuſpected by the *Army* (for what cauſe I cannot well tell, ſince there are ſo many various reports concerning his inclinations) he was murthered in a tumult, nor could the *Emperour* himſelf ſave his life.

From this time forward the Souldiers, who by degrees forgot their former kindneſs to *Alexander*, ſeemed very unwilling to execute his Commands, and leſt they ſhould be puniſh'd for their ſloth, made publick mutinies, in which they promoted

ted one *Antoninus* to the *Empire*. But he not able to ſuſtein the weight of that great Truſt, withdrew himſelf; which made 'em chuſe *Uranius*, a man of mean and ſlaviſh condition, who being preſently brought before *Alexander* in his *purple Robes*, their hatred to the *Emperour* was thereby the more augmented. And hence it was that *Alexander* ſeeing himſelf inviron'd with ſo many difficulties, was alter'd not onely in the temper of his body but in the complexion of his mind too; inſomuch that he was ſeized with the Diſeaſe of *Avarice* and laid up money with great care and ſollicitude, of which he made his *Mother* his *Treaſurer*.

But whilſt his Affairs ſtood in this unhappy poſture, the *Armies* that were in *Pannonia* and *Myſia*, who had no great kindneſs for him before, were now more inclined to a *Revolt*, and therefore being ſet upon *Innovation*, they raiſed *Maximinus*, who was Captain of a *Pannonian Troop*, to the *Empire*. He therefore, having got all his forces together, march'd into *Italy* as faſt as he could, becauſe he thought it eaſier to attaque the *Emperour* at unawares. But *Alexander*, who was then in the parts about the *Rhine*, having intelligence there of their deſign'd *Innovations*, moved towards *Rome* with all ſpeed.

Where

Where though he offer'd pardon both to the *Souldiers* and *Maximinus* too, if they would deſiſt from their *Attempts*, yet he could not reconcile 'em, and therefore, in a deſperate humour expos'd himſelf, as it were, to Death. His *Mother Mamæa* too, who came out of the Palace with the Prefects to appeaſe the *Tumult*, was murthered together with the *Prefects*. By which means *Maximinus* was well ſetled in the *Empire*, but all people were ſorry that they had changed a moderate *Emperour* for a cruel *Tyrant*. For he was of an obſcure Family, and therefore when he came to be *Emperour*, eclipſed thoſe Virtues that he was naturally endued with, by the exceſſive confidence of his own power: inſomuch that he was intolerable to all men in general, and did not onely injure thoſe that were in places of *Honour*, but uſed all cruelty in the conduct of his Affairs, obliging none but *Sycophants*, who inform'd againſt innocent, quiet men, as if they were *Debtors* to the *Imperial Treaſury*. At length he proceeded to murther men through covetouſneſs before he heard what they could ſay for themſelves, made all the Towns his own, and plunder'd the Inhabitants.

Now

Now the *Nations* subject to the *Romans* being not able to endure his extravagant cruelty, but mightily troubled at the open ravage which he committed, the *Africans* declared *Gordianus* and *his Son*, of the same name, *Emperours*; and sent *Embassadours* to *Rome*, among whom was *Valerianus* a *Consuls fellow*, who himself was afterward *Emperour*. At which the *Senate* was well pleas'd, and consulted how to remove the Tyrant; inciting the Soldiers to Rebellion, and putting the people in mind of the injuries done to them both in their private capacities and also as they were members of such a *Commonwealth*. Then being all agreed they chose twenty Men out of their whole Senate, who understood Military Discipline, and from among them elected two, called *Balbinus* and *Maximus*, to whom they committed the chief Command, and going toward *Rome* were ready to make an *Insurrection*.

But *Maximinus* when he heard of these things, went in all haste toward *Rome* with the *Moors* and *Frenchmen* that he had under him, and by the way besieged the Garison of *Aquileia*, because they shut their Gates against him; though his own party who at last consulted the publick good, with much ado consented to those who had a mind to take him off, and thereby

thereby reduced him to such extremity of danger, that he was fain to make his own Son a *Petitioner* in his behalf, supposing that his tender years would rebate their anger and move them to pity. But they were thereby the more enraged, and after they had kill'd the Boy in a most barbarous manner, dispatch'd him also; upon which one of 'em came and cutting off his head brought it along with him to *Rome* for a demonstration and Trophy of their Victory. And thus being freed from all their fears, they waited for the *Arrival* of the two *Emperours* out of *Africk*.

But they being cast away in a storm, the *Senate* confer'd the universal management of *affairs* upon *Gordianus*, who was Son to one of 'em. In whose Reign the *Romans* remitted something of their former melancholy, because the *Emperour* diverted 'em with Plays and other exercises. But when they were all awaked, as it were, out of a dead sleep, they laid a private Plot against the *Emperour*, by the advice of *Balbinus* and *Maximus*, who instigated certain Soldiers against him. Which being found out, the *Heads* of the party, besides a great many of the *Complices*, were put to death.

Not long after this, the *Carthaginians* fell out with the *Emperour*, and would needs have put *Sabianus* in his room; but *Gordianus* raised the *African* forces, which soon reconciled 'em; insomuch that they deliver'd up the *Usurper* (that would have been) begged pardon for their Offences and freed themselves from all impendent dangers.

In the mean time *Gordianus* married the Daughter of *Timesicles* (who was a man very much applauded for his learning) and made him *Prefect* of the *Court*; by which action he seemed to supply the defects of his own nonage in the administration of publick Affairs. But when he had secur'd the *Empire*, he look'd every hour when the *Persians* would attaque the *Eastern Nations*, since *Sapores* was *King* upon the *Death* of *Artaxerxes*, who restored the *Government* back from the *Parthians* to the *Persians*. For after *Alexander* the Son of *Philip* was dead, and other Successors of his in the *Macedonian Empire* (at that time when *Antiochus* govern'd those superiour *Satrapies* or *Provinces*) *Arsaces*, a *Parthian*, being incens'd at an injury offer'd to his Brother *Teridates*, levyed War against the *Satrape* of *Antiochus*, gave occasion to the *Parthians* to turn out all the *Macedonians*, and make the

the Government their own. The *Emperour* therefore made all the preparations that he could to go againſt the *Perſians*. Now though the *Roman* Army ſeemed to have gotten the Victory in the firſt fight, yet ſeeing *Timeſicles*, the *Prefect* of the *Court*, died, the *Emperours* great Confidence in the ſecurity of his enterprize was very much abated. For *Philip* being choſen in his place, the good will of the Soldiers toward the *Emperour* decay'd by degrees and grew inſenſible. For he being born in *Arabia* (which is a wicked Nation) and no better than he ſhould have been in the advancement of his Fortune, as ſoon as he got into his Office, affected to be *Emperour*, obliged all the Soldiers who were inclined to innovations, and ſeeing there was plenty of military proviſions brought in, whilſt the Emperour ſtay'd about *Carræ* and *Niſibis*, commanded the Ships that brought ſuch proviſions to go up farther into the Countrey, that thereby the Army, being oppreſs'd with Famine and want of neceſſaries, might be provoked to mutiny.

And indeed his Deſign took effect; for the Soldiers, under pretence of wanting neceſſaries, came about *Gordianus* in a very rude manner, and having kill'd him as the chief cauſe, that ſo many periſh'd in

the Army, they confer'd the Purple Robe upon *Philip* according to their Contract. He therefore made a Peace with *Sapores* upon Oath; which when he had done and put an end to the War, he march'd toward *Rome*: and as he obliged the Soldiers with large gifts, so he sent Messengers to *Rome*, to give out that *Gordianus* died of a Disease. But when he came to *Rome* himself, and had made the *Senatorian Order* his Friends, he thought it the best way to bestow the greatest preferments upon his nearest Relations. Wherefore he made his Brother *Priscus General* of the *Syrian Army*, committing the *Mysian* and *Macedonian* forces to the conduct of *Severianus* his Son-in-law.

By this means thinking that he had establish'd the *Empire* in his own possession, he went upon an Expedition against the *Carpi*, who had plunder'd all the Countrey about the *Ister*. But when they engaged, the Barbarians were not able to sustein the vigorous shock of our party; and therefore fled into a certain Castle, in which they were besieged. Yet when they saw their men, who were dispersed some one way and some another, had rally'd again into a body, they resumed their courage, and sallying forth from the Castle attaqued the *Roman* Army.

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But being unable to bear the impetuous onset of the *Moors*, they treated for Peace; to which *Philip* easily assented and marched off. But since at that time there were many disturbances in the *Commonwealth*, the *Eastern* Provinces (who were vexed, partly by the exactions of Tributes, and partly upon the account of *Priscus*, who was their Governour, but an intolerable ill man) inclined to innovation and set up *Papianus* for *Emperour*, whilst those of *Mysia* and *Pannonia* thought better of *Marinus*.

Now *Philip* being troubled at these things desired the *Senate* that either they would assist him against such imminent dangers, or if they were displeased with his Government, that they would suffer him to lay it down and dismiss him quietly: to which seeing no body at all reply'd, *Decius*, (who was a person of great birth and quality and adorned with all Virtues besides) said, He was unwise to be so much concern'd for those things; for they would vanish of themselves and could not possibly subsist. And though the event answer'd *Decius*'s Conjecture, which he had made through long experience in the World, so that *Papianus* and *Marinus* were taken off; yet *Philip* was still affraid, because he knew how much

the Souldiers hated the Officers in that Countrey. He therefore desired *Decius*, that he would command the Legions that were in *Mysia* and *Pannonia*. Which he refusing, because, he said, he thought it inconvenient for him and *Philip* too, *Philip* used the *Thessalian Rhetorick of Necessity* (as they call it) and forced him into *Pannonia* to chastise the accomplices of *Marinus*'s faction there. But the Soldiers in those parts seeing *Decius* punish all those that had offended, thought it their best way both to avoid the present danger and set up a *Monarch* at the same time, who would take more care of the *Commonwealth*, and, being more skilful in Civil as well as Military Affairs, might easily conquer *Philip*.

In order whereunto they cloathed *Decius* in *Purple*, and, amidst all his fears of future misadventures, compelled him to assume the management of publick Affairs. When therefore *Philip* heard, that *Decius* was thus set up for Emperor, he muster'd up all his forces, to subdue him. Now those that were with *Decius*, though they knew the Enemy outdid 'em much in number, yet they had courage still, because they trusted to *Decius*'s skill and general prudence in all matters. And when the two Armies fell to it, though

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the one was superiour in number, yet the other was above it in point of Discipline and Conduct, so that a great many of *Philips* side were slain and he himself among the rest, together with his Son, whom he had honour'd with the *Title* of *Cæsar*. And thus did *Decius* gain the *Empire*.

Now therefore seeing things were every where full of disorder through *Philips* negligence, the *Scythians* march'd over *Tanais*, and plunder'd the Countreys about *Thrace*. But *Decius* opposed 'em and prov'd not onely victorious in all the Battels that he fought, but recover'd the spoils that they had taken, endeavour'd to prevent and block up their passage home again, and intended to kill 'em every man, lest they should rally any more. For which purpose he posted *Gallus* upon the bank of *Tanais* with a competent number of men, and went himself with the remainder of his forces against the Enemy. In which expedition he had all the success that he could wish for; and therefore *Gallus*, who was enclined to *Innovation*, sent *Agents* to the *Barbarians*, entreating them to joyn with him in a Conspiracy against *Decius*. To which they very willingly agreed and *Gallus* kept his Post upon the bank of *Tanais*; but the *Barbarians* divi-

ded themſelves into three *Battalions*, of which the firſt was planted behind a certain Marſh. Now when *Decius* had deſtroy'd a great many of the firſt *Battalion*, the ſecond came up, which he likewiſe defeated and diſcover'd ſome of the third, which lay near the Marſh. But *Gallus* ſent him word, that he might march againſt 'em through the Fenn, and therefore as he went on unwarily in a ſtrange place, both he and his Army were bemired, and in that circumſtance ſo pelted by the *Barbarians*, that ne'r an one of 'em eſcaped alive. And thus did *Decius*, that excellent *Empereur*, end his days.

Him *Gallus* ſucceeded; who when he had declared his Son *Voluſianus Partner* in the *Empire*, and made a *Proclamation*, as it were, that *Decius* and his Army periſh'd by his contrivance, the *Barbarians* began to be more proſperous than before. For *Gallus* permitted them not onely to return home with the ſpoil, but promiſed to pay 'em yearly a certain ſum of Money, and let 'em carry away all the nobleſt Captives; who had been, moſt of 'em, taken at *Philippopolis* in *Thrace*.

Now *Gallus*, when he had order'd his Affairs in this manner, came to *Rome*, and was very proud of this Peace that he had made with the *Barbarians*. And though

though at first indeed he spake very kindly concerning *Decius*'s way of Governing, and adopted one of his Sons, who was then alive, yet in process of time being affraid, lest some of them who used to study new Projects, might run back into a recapitulation of *Decius*'s Princely Virtues, and so one time or other give up the Empire to his Son, he devised the young mans destruction, without any regard either to his Adoption, or even to common honesty and justice.

But *Gallus* behaved himself so supinely in the *Administration* of the *Empire*, that the *Scythians* first terrified their Neighbour Nations, and after, by degrees, spoil'd all the Countreys even to the Sea-coast. So that there was not so much as one Nation, subject to the *Romans*, but what they wasted; taking almost all the unwalled Towns, besides a great many of those that were fortified. But besides a War on every side; which lay very heavy upon 'em, there was a Plague in all the Cities, and Villages, which swept away the remainder of Mankind in those parts, nor was there ever known such a mortality in any former Age.

At this juncture of Affairs, seeing the *Emperours* were not able to defend the *Commonwealth*, but neglected all things without

without the Walls of *Rome*, the *Gothi*, the *Borani*, the *Vrugundi*, and the *Carpi* did once more plunder the Cities in *Europe* of all that was left in 'em; whilſt on the other hand the *Perſians* invaded *Aſia*, wherein they poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Meſopotamia*, proceeded as far even as *Antioch* in *Syria*, took that City, which is the *Metropolis* of all the *Eaſt* (killing ſome of the Inhabitants and taking the reſt away Captives) and went back home with an infinite quantity of ſpoils, when they had pull'd down all the private and publick Buildings in it, without any reſiſtance made againſt 'em. And indeed the *Perſians* were in a fair way to have gotten all *Aſia* into their hands, if they had not been ſo overjoy'd at their exceſſive Plunder as to be content to keep and carry home thoſe things which they had taken.

In the mean time all the *Scythians* of *Europe* lived in great ſecurity, were gone over into *Aſia*, and had ſpoil'd all the Coutrey as far as *Cappadocia*, *Peſinus* and *Epheſus*, till *Æmilianus*, *General* of the *Pannonian Legions*, endeavouring all he could to encourage his Soldiers (who were diſheartned, nor durſt withſtand the proſperous ſucceſs of the *Barbarians*) and putting 'em in mind of the *Roman Honour* and *Bravery*, ſurpriz'd the *Barbarians*, which he

he found thereabout: And when he had kill'd a great many of them, put his men over into their Countrey, remov'd whatever obstacle he met with, and, in fine, had freed the *Roman* Subjects from their fury, He was chosen *Emperour* by his own Soldiers. Thereupon he muster'd up all the forces of that Countrey, who were grown more couragious since his Victory against the *Barbarians*, and so march'd for *Italy*, with a design to fight *Gallus*, who was yet unprepared to engage him. For *Gallus* had never heard what had been done in the *East*, and therefore made onely what accidental preparations he could, whilst *Valerianus* went to fetch the *Celtick* and the *German* Legions. But *Æmilianus* came with all speed into *Italy*, and the Armies were very near one another, when *Gallus*'s Soldiers considering, that he was much inferiour to the Enemy in numbers and strength, as also, that he was a careless, slothful man, kill'd him and his Son; and then going over to *Æmilianus*'s Party seemed to establish his *Government*.

But *Valerianus* brought a vast Army from beyond the *Alpes* into *Italy*, with which he thought himself sure to Conquer *Æmilianus*; and therefore *Æmilianus*'s own Soldiers, who saw him behave himself more like a private Sentinel than

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an *Emperour*, took him off as a Person unfit for such a weighty Command.

By which means *Valerianus* was chosen *Emperour* with general approbation, and made it his business to regulate all Affairs; But by the excursions of the *Scythians*, and besides them, the *Marcomanni*, who made an inrode upon all the bordering Countreys, adjacent to the *Roman Empire*, *Thessalonica* was in extream danger: and though with much pains and difficulty the Siege was raised by the brave defence which those within made, yet all *Greece* was in an uproar. Then did the *Athenians* repair their Walls (which had never been thought worth their care since *Sylla* pull'd 'em down) and so likewise did the *Peloponnesians* fortifie the *Isthmus*, insomuch that there was a common Guard upon all *Greece* set for their own security.

Valerianus, understanding what danger the *Roman Empire* was in on all sides, chose *Gallienus*, his Son, as Partner with him in the Government; and seeing things every where in such disorder, went into the *East* to oppose the *Persians*, committing the care of the forces in *Europe* to his Son, whom he engaged with that Army to withstand the *Barbarians*, who came in upon him from all quarters. Now there-

therefore *Gallienus*, since the *Germans* were more troublesom, than any other Nation, and more vexatious to the *Gauls* that liveu upon the *Rhine*, march'd against 'em in Person, and commanded his Officers, with what forces they had there, to make a War against all others, who were resolv'd to plunder all *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Greece*. In pursuit of which design, He kept and guarded the passages of the *Rhine*, as well as he could; and as at one time he stopp'd their going over, so at another he fought 'em just as they crost'd it. But being to resist a vast multitude with a small number, he was at a loss, and thought he might be more secure by making a League with one of the *German* Princes, who not only hinder'd the frequent passage of the other *Barbarians* over the *Rhine*, but stopp'd the Career of new Auxiliaries. And this was the condition of those, who lived upon the *Rhine*.

In the mean time the *Borani*, the *Gothi*, the *Carpi*, and the *Urugundi* (which are Nations living upon the *Ister*) left no part of *Italy* or *Illyricum* unpillaged, but without any opposition, made havock of all. And indeed the *Borani* attempted to go over into *Asia*, which they very easily effected by the help of them that lived upon the *Bosphorus*, who more out of fear than

than any good will ſupply'd them with Ships and guided 'em in their paſſage. For though as long as they had *Kings* of their own, who ſucceeded one another by deſcent, they always kept the *Scythians* out of *Aſia*, either for the love they bore the *Romans*, or for the ſake of their Trade and Commerce, or in gratitude for the Preſents ſent 'em every year from their *Kings*; yet afterward, when the Royal Line was extinct, and certain mean, abject Perſons had gotten the Power in their hands, they were affraid of themſelves, and gave the *Scythians* free ingreſs into *Aſia*, nay carry'd them over and came back again in their own Ships.

But whilſt the *Scythians* plunder'd all before 'em, the People, who inhabited upon the Sea-coaſt of *Pontus*, removed into the midland fortified Towns; and the *Barbarians* at the ſame time made the firſt attaque upon *Pityus*, which is incloſed with a very ſtrong Wall and has a very convenient Harbor. But *Succeſſianus*, General of the Army there, made ſuch reſiſtance with what forces he had, that he routed the *Barbarians*, and put them into a fear, leſt if the other Gariſons ſhould hear what was done, they might join with thoſe of *Pityus* and quite deſtroy 'em; inſomuch that they got as many Ships as they

they could, and with great hazard return'd home, though with the loſs of many of their men who fell in the Battel at *Pityus*. They therefore, who lived near the *Euxine* Sea and were preſerved by the conduct of *Suceſſianus* (as I have told you) could never hope (or rather fear) that the *Scythians*, who had been ſo repuls'd, would come over to 'em any more. But, whilſt *Valerianus* ſent for *Suceſſianus*, made him Prefect of the Court, and diſcours'd with him about the Affairs and the repairing of *Antioch*, the *Scythians* got Ships of the *Boſphorans*, and croſs'd the Sea. But the Inhabitants of the other ſide detein'd the Ships and would not ſuffer the *Boſphorans* to take 'em home again (as they had done) whereupon they travail'd into the Countrey near *Phaſis*, where, they ſay, is the Temple of *Diana* (called from the place) *Phaſiana*, and the Palace of King *Æeta*; and having in vain attempted to take that Temple, went ſtreight to *Pityus*.

Where when they had taken the Caſtle, and turn'd out all the Guards that were in it, they went on forward; and having a very numerous Navy, whereinto they put all the Captives who knew how to handle an Oar, they ſailed, in calm weather, which continued almoſt all the Summer,

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toward *Trapezus*, which is a great and populous City, and had in it some ten thousand men besides their usual Complement. They therefore, when they first laid Siege to it, did not so much as dream they should take it, because it was surrounded with two Walls; but when they observed that the Soldiers were given up to sloth and drunkenness, and did not continue upon the Wall, but were always in pursuit of pleasures and debauchery, they piled up Trees which they had prepared for the purpose against the Wall whereby to scale it, and so getting their men up by degrees in the night-time they took the City; whilst the Soldiers within were amazed at the sudden and unexpected invasion, but made a shift to escape through several Gates of the City, and the rest were destroy'd by the Enemy. And when the City was thus taken, the *Barbarians* got an unspeakable quantity of Money besides an infinite number of Slaves: for almost all the Countrey people thereabout were fled into that City for refuge, as being a well-fortified place. They therefore having demolish'd all the Temples and Houses besides other things whatever they were that conduced either to the grandeur or beauty of the Place, and over-ran the adjacent Countrey too,

re-

return'd home with a great number of Ships.

When the *Scythians*, that were their Neighbours, ſaw what a booty they had gotten, they had a mind to do ſomething in imitation of 'em, and to that end prepared a Fleet, which either their Captives or others that for want had mix'd themſelves among them, help'd 'em to build. But they reſolv'd not to ſet out as the *Borani* had done; becauſe it was tedious and difficult to ſail that way, and they muſt paſs through places that were already plunder'd. Wherefore they ſtay'd till Winter, and then leaving the *Euxine* Sea on the left hand, but *Iſter*, *Tomes* and *Anchialus* on the right (whilſt their Land-forces march'd by the ſhore as faſt as they could) they arrived at the Lake of *Phileatina*, which lies to the Weſtward of *Byzantium* near *Pontus*. But finding that the Fiſhermen of that Lake had hidden themſelves and their Veſſels in the Fenns adjacent to it, they went and made an agreement with 'em, put their Land-forces into the Fiſhermens Boats and ſo ſailed forward in order to paſs the ſtreight, that lies between *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*. And though there was a Guard from *Chalcedon* all along as far as the Temple which ſtands at the entrance into *Pontus*,

that was much too ſtrong for the *Barbarians* who came againſt it, yet ſome of the Soldiers march'd off under pretence of meeting a General that the Emperor had ſent thither, and others were in ſuch a fright that they ran away as faſt as they could when they firſt heard of it. Whereupon the *Barbarians* croſs'd over, took *Chalcedon* without any oppoſition, and made themſelves maſters of Mony, Arms, and other proviſions in abundance.

From hence they march'd on to *Nicomedia*, a great and wealthy City, fam'd both for the riches and general affluence of it: where though the Citizens had heard of their coming and were run away with all the Money they could carry, the *Barbarians* notwithſtanding admired at the vaſt quantity of things that they found there and pay'd *Chryſogonus* all Honour and ſervice, who had formerly adviſed 'em to *Nicomedia*. And when they had over-ran *Nicæa*, *Cius*, *Apamea*, and *Pruſa* and done the ſame in thoſe places, they went toward *Cyſicus*; but the River *Rhyndacus* was ſo mightily out by reaſon of the great Rains that had fallen, they could not paſs and ſo were forced to go back again. Then they burnt *Nicomedia* and *Nicæa*, and *putting up* or ſtowing their Spoils in Carts or Ships, began to think of going

ing home again; which put an end to their second incursion, or inrode.

By this time *Valerianus* had heard of the disturbances in *Bithynia*, but durst not trust any of his Captains with the defence of it, he was so diffident: Wherefore he sent *Felix* to look after *Byzantium*, and went himself from *Antioch* as far as *Cappadocia*, where having done some injury to every City as he passed along, he returned homeward. But then the Plague happen'd among his Army and destroy'd most of 'em at what time *Sapores* made an Attempt upon the East and reduced it all into his own Power. In the mean time *Valerianus* was so effeminate and supine that he despair'd of ever recovering out of the present ill circumstances and would have put an end to the War by giving of Money; but *Sapores* sent his Embassadors whom he sent about that Affair away without their Errand, desiring that the Emperor would come, and parley with him, in Person, concerning those things that he thought requisite. To which he consented, like an imprudent man as he was, and going without any consideration to *Sapores* with a small Retinue, to treat forsooth about a Peace, was presently taken by the Enemy; and so end-

ed his days in the quality of a Slave among the *Persians*, to the great dishonour of the *Roman* Name in all future times.

This being the State of the East, all things at that time, were in a confus'd, helpless condition. But the *Scythians* were unanimous and therefore mustering themselves into one body out of every Nation and Countrey within their Dominions, they plunder'd *Illyricum* with some part of their Army, wasting the Cities in those parts, and march'd with the rest into *Italy* as far as *Rome* it self.

In the mean time *Gallienus* continu'd still beyond the *Alpes*, intent upon the *German* Wars, whilst the Senate, seeing *Rome* in such extream danger, arm'd all the Soldiers that were in the City, besides the stronger sort of the Common People, and gather'd up an Army which for number out did the *Barbarians*. At which the *Barbarians* were so scar'd, that they left *Rome* indeed, but pillaged almost all *Italy* besides. But then, when *Illyricum* was in extream danger from the incursion of the *Scythians*, and the whole *Roman* Empire in such a tottering condition, that they knew not what to do; there happen'd a Plague to break out very rife in several of their Towns, the like

like was never known, that did alleviate the Calamities which the *Barbarians* inflicted upon them, making the ſick eſteem themſelves happy, and the Cities too, that were already taken, but by this means, turn'd into Deſerts.

Gallienus was diſturb'd at all theſe things and therefore return'd to *Rome*, to relieve *Italy* from that War which the *Scythians* had levied there; when at the ſame time *Crecrops* (a *Moor*) *Aureolus* and *Antoninus* with many others conſpir'd againſt him, of whom moſt part were puniſh'd for it and ſubmitted, onely *Aureolus* continu'd in his animoſity toward the Emperour.

After this *Poſthumus* alſo, who was General of the *Celtick* Army, inclined toward Innovation, and taking along with him certain Soldiers, that revolted at the ſame time, went to *Aprippina*, which is the greateſt City upon the *Rhine*; where he beſieged *Salonius*, *Gallienus*'s Son, and threaten'd never to ſtir from before the Walls, till he was delivered up to him. For which reaſon the Soldiers thought it neceſſary to ſurrender not onely him, but *Silvanus* too (whom his Father had made his Guardian,) both of whom *Poſthumus* put to death and made himſelf abſolute Lord of the *Celtæ*.

And now the *Scythians*, who had moſt miſerably haraſs'd all *Greece* in general, had taken *Athens*, when *Gallienus* came out to fight thoſe who had already poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Thrace*, and commanded *Odonathus* of *Palmyra* (a man whoſe Anceſtors the Emperors had always born a great reſpect to) to aſſiſt the Eaſtern Nations, who were then in a very ſad condition. Accordingly he, when he had joined as many of his own men as he could to the remainder of an Army that was left in that Countrey, attaqued *Sapores* very briskly, and having taken ſome other Cities belonging to the *Perſians*, he retook *Niſibis* alſo, which *Sapores* had formerly taken (and was now for the *Perſians*) and razed it at the ſame time. Then going not onely once, but a ſecond time, as far as *Cteſiphon*, he ſhut the *Perſians* up in their own fortifications, and made 'em glad to ſave their Wives, Children and themſelves, whilſt he diſpoſed of the pillaged Countrey as well as he could.

But afterward when he lived at *Emiſa*, he was kill'd by Conſpiracy as he was celebrating ſome friends birth-day, and then *Lenobia* took upon her the adminiſtration of Affairs. Who though ſhe were *Odonathus*'s Wife, yet ſhe had the ſpirit of

a

a man in her, and by the help of her Husbands familiar friends, did every thing as well as he had done.

And this was the State of the East, when news was brought to *Gallienus*, who was then ingaged in the *Scythian* War, that *Aurelianus* [or rather, *Aureolus*] who was General of all the Cavalry, that were posted about the City of *Millain*, to observe what progress *Posthumus* made into *Italy*, had some new design on foot, and was ambitious to be Emperour. At which being troubled he went immediately for *Italy*, leaving *Marcianus* General of the War against the *Scythians*, who was a Person very well experienced in Military Affairs: but whilst he carry'd on the War with very good Conduct, *Gallienus*, in his journey toward *Italy*, had a Plot laid against him, which was this. *Heracliamus*, Prefect of the Court, had made *Claudius* privy to his design (who, next to the Emperour, managed every thing in all appearance) which was to kill *Gallienus*: And having found a man very ready for such a business, that commanded a Troop of *Dalmatians*, he entrusted him with the Action. For the effecting whereof the party stood by *Gallienus* at Supper-time and told him, how some of the Scouts had brought word, that *Aureolus*

and his Army were very near; and thereby put him in a great fright. Whereupon immediately calling for his Horſe and Arms, he mounted, gave the Word to his men to come in their Armour after him, and rode away without ſo much as his *Guard du corps*; ſo that the Captain, ſeeing him all alone, kill'd him.

Now therefore, when the Soldiers were quieted by Order from their Commanders, *Claudius* was choſen Emperor, who had been formerly deſign'd for that Honour by univerſal agreement. Whereupon *Aureolus*, who had kept himſelf a good while out of *Gallienus*'s hands, ſent Agents preſently to *Claudius*, to make his Peace, and then ſurrendering himſelf up was kill'd by the Emperours Guards, who had not forgotten the hatred that they bore to him for his Treachery.

At this time the *Scythians* (all that were left of 'em) were ſo encouraged by their former ſucceſs, that they, together with the *Heruli*, *Peucæ* and *Gotthi*, made a Rendezvouz near the River *Tyra*, which diſcharges it ſelf into *Pontus*; where having built ſix thouſand Ships and put three hundred and twenty thouſand aboard of 'em, they ſailed through *Pontus*, and attempted *Tomes* which is a Wall'd Town, but were beaten off from it. From thence they

they went to *Marcianople*, a City of *Myſia*, but failing there too in their attempt to take it, took the opportunity of a fair Wind and ſailed forward. But when they came to the Streights of *Propontis*, the Ships were ſo numerous that they could not well ſail in ſuch a violent ſwift ſtream [or Tide] and therefore fell foul upon one another whilſt the Yatchs were carry'd down without any order, and the Pilots let go their Helms: inſomuch that ſome were ſunk, and ſome with, others without men in them, were driven aſhore, to their great loſs both of Men and Veſſels. Upon which account the *Barbarians* receded from the Streights of *Propontis*, and ſailed toward *Cyzicus*. But coming from thence without ſucceſs, and ſailing by the *Helleſpont*, they came to the Mountain *Athos*; where when they had careen'd or refitted their Ships, they beſieged *Caſſandra* and *Theſſalonica*, having like to have taken 'em with Machines that they built againſt the Walls. But when they heard, the Emperor was acoming with an Army, they went up into the Midland-Countrey, plundering all about *Doberus* and *Pelagonia*. And there they loſt three thouſand men, whoſe fortune it was to meet with the *Dalmatian* Cavalry, but with the reſt they fought

fought the Emperors Army. In which Battel though many fell on both ſides, and the *Romans* ſeemed to run, yet they ſurpriz'd the *Barbarians* from by-ways and Ambuſcades ſo as to kill full fifty thouſand of them. Yet the [remaining] part of the *Scythians* ſailed all about *Theſſaly* and *Greece* to pillage all the Countrey, and ſince they were not ſtrong enough to attaque the Towns which had taken care to fortifie themſelves with good Walls and all other ſecurity, they took and carry'd away with 'em all the men that they found in the Fields.

The *Scythians* therefore being thus diſperſed, as I have told you, and having loſt a great part of their men, *Zenobia* began to think of propagating her Dominions; and therefore ſent *Zabdas* into *Egypt*, becauſe *Timagenes* an *Egyption* endeavour'd to make the *Palmyrenians* Governors of *Egypt*. For he had raiſed an Army of *Palmyrenians*, *Syrians* and *Barbarians* to the number of ſeventy thouſand, which was oppoſed by fifty thouſand *Egyptians*; between whom and their Adverſaries there was a ſharp engagement, but the *Palmyrenians* got the day by many degrees; and having ſetled a Gariſon there of five thouſand men, march'd off.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacted, *Probus*, whom the Emperor commanded to clear the Sea of Pirates, having heard that *Egypt* was ſubdu'd by the *Palmyrenians*, went againſt them with his own Army and as many of the *Egyptians* as did not favour the *Palmyrenians* and turned out the Gariſon. So likewiſe a ſecond time, when the *Palmyrenians* rallied with freſh forces, *Probus* who had muſtered up a company of *Egyptians*, and *Africans*, not onely got the Victory, but drove the *Palmyrenians* out of *Egypt*. But as *Probus* lay upon a Mountain near *Babylon*, and thereby intercepted the Enemies paſſage into *Syria*, *Timagenes*, who knew thoſe parts very well, went with two thouſand men and got atop of the Mountain, where he kill'd the *Egyptians* by ſurprize, and *Probus*, who was taken among the reſt, kill'd himſelf.

When therefore as *Egypt* was now reduced into the power of the *Palmyrenians*, the *Barbarians*, that were left alive after the fight at *Naiſſus* between *Claudius* and the *Scythians*, defending themſelves, as it were, with their Carriages which went before 'em, march'd toward *Macedonia*, but were ſo hard put to it for want of neceſſaries, that both themſelves and their Beaſts periſhed for meer hunger.

ger. And by the way too the *Roman* Horſe met 'em, who killing many of 'em forc'd the reſt toward *Hæmus*; where being ſurrounded by the *Roman* Army they loſt a vaſt number of their men. But afterward when the Horſe and Foot fell out among themſelves, the Emperor having a mind that the Foot ſhould fight the *Barbarians*, the Romans, after a ſmart engagement, were worſted and many of 'em ſlain, though the Horſe coming preſently up to 'em made the miſcarriage of the Foot ſeem ſo much the leſs.

This Battel being over, the *Scythians* march'd forward and the *Romans* follow'd 'em, whilſt the *Barbarians*, who cruiſed about *Crete* and *Rhodes* went back without doing any thing worth the ſpeaking of; and being ſeiz'd with a Plague in their way home, ſome of 'em died in *Thrace* and ſome in *Macedonia*. But all that eſcaped were either admitted into the *Roman* Legions, or had Land given 'em to manure and ſo addicted themſelves to Husbandry.

Nor did the Plague ſweep away the *Barbarians* onely but began to be riſe among the *Romans* alſo, who, many of 'em, dy'd of it, and, among the reſt, *Claudius*; a Perſon adorn'd with all Virtues, whoſe death was a great loſs to all his loving Sub-

Subjects, and he consequently very much miss'd among 'em.

Then *Quintillus*, *Claudius*'s Brother, was declared Emperour, who lived not many months (nor did any thing worth ones taking notice of) before *Aurelianus* was advanced to the Imperial Throne: and some Writers say, that *Quintillus* was advised by his Friends, assoon as they heard that *Aurelianus* was made Emperor, to make himself away and voluntarily give place to a man much more deserving: which, they report, he did, by opening a Vein and bleeding to death.

Aurelianus therefore having setled the Empire, went from *Rome* to *Aquileia* and thence to *Pannonia*, which the *Scythians*, as he heard, were ready to invade. For which reason he sent the Inhabitants of that Countrey word by his Scouts, that he would have 'em carry all the Corn and Cattel which they had, and every thing else, that might be of use to the Enemy, into their Towns; the more to afflict them with famine, which was already very sharp upon them. But when the *Barbarians* were got over the River into *Pannonia* they fought and came off pretty equal; for the Night coming on, no one could tell which side had the better on't. Yet the same Night the *Barbarians*

rians croſs'd the River, and aſſoon as it was Day, ſent Embaſſadors or Heralds to treat for Peace.

And now the Emperour hearing that the *Alemanes* with their Neighbour Nations intended to over-run *Italy*, he was (as he had reaſon to be) more concern'd for *Rome* and the adjacent places, than any other: wherefore having ordered a ſufficient number of Guards to ſtay in *Pannonia*, he march'd toward *Italy*; but by the way, upon the borders of that Countrey, near the *Iſter*, kill'd many thouſands of the *Barbarians* in one Battel. At which time ſeveral of the Senate at *Rome* being accuſed of a Plot againſt the Emperour, were put to death for it; and *Rome* was Walled about which before had no Walls. But though that Work was begun in *Aurelianus*'s time, it was finiſh'd by *Probus*.

At the ſame time alſo were *Epitimius*, *Urbanus* and *Domitianus* ſuſpected for Innovators, and being immediately apprehended were puniſh'd for it.

But whilſt Affairs were thus managed in *Italy* and *Pannonia*, the Emperour was a-thinking to go with an Army againſt the *Palmyrenians*, who had ſubdu'd all *Egypt* and the Eaſt as far as *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, and would have gotten *Bithynia*, even

even to *Chalcedon*, if the People of that Countrey had not heard that *Aurelianus* was Emperour and ſo ſhook off the *Palmyrenian* yoke of Government. Wherefore aſſoon as the Emperour was on his way thither, *Ancyra* ſubmitted to the *Romans*, and after that, *Tyana*, with all the Cities betwixt that and *Antioch*. Where finding *Zenobia* with a great Army ready prepared for Battel, as he himſelf alſo was, he, as he was in honour bound, met and engaged her. But ſeeing the *Palmyrenian* Cavalry confided very much in their Armour which was heavy, ſtrong and ſecure, being alſo much better Horſemen than his Soldiers, he planted his Foot ſomewhere beyond the River *Orontes* in a place by themſelves, and gave the *Roman* Horſe a charge not preſently to engage with the vigorous *Palmyrenian* Cavalry, but to ſtay till they made the firſt attaque, and then pretend that they ſhew'd to fly, and continue ſo to do, till they were ſenſible they had tired both the men and their Horſes through the exceſs of Heat and weight of their Armour, ſo, that they could purſue 'em no longer. Which Project took effect, and the Emperours Horſe obſerv'd his order; ſo that aſſoon as they ſaw the Enemy tired, and that their Horſes were hardly able to ſtand under

under 'em, or they themſelves to ſtir, they reined in their Horſes [ſtopp'd their Career] and [turn'd [wheel'd about] ſet upon them, and trod them under feet as they fell of themſelves from their Horſes back. By which means the ſlaughter of 'em was promiſcuous, ſome being kill'd with their Swords, and others partly by their own and partly by the Enemies Horſes.

Upon this Defeat as many as could, got into *Antioch*; therefore *Labdas*, who was *Zenobias*'s General, fearing leſt the *Antiochians* ſhould hear of it and mutiny, pick'd out a Perſon ſomewhat hoary, much like the Emperour, and cloathing him in ſuch a Garb as it was likely *Aurelianus* uſed to wear in time of War, led him through the whole City, as if he had taken the Emperour Captive. With which contrivance he impoſed upon the *Antiochians*, ſtole out of the City by Night and took *Zenobia* with the remaining part of the Army along with him to *Emiſa*. In the mean time the Emperour minded his buſineſs, and aſſoon as it was Day, called the Foot-Souldiers about him again, with a deſign to attaque the routed Enemy on both ſides, though hearing of *Zenobias*'s eſcape, he enter'd *Antioch*, where the Citizens entertain'd him very kindly.

ly. But finding many had left the City for fear they might ſuffer for being of *Zenobia*'s ſide; he ſet forth Edicts in all places to call 'em back and told 'em ſuch things had happen'd more out of force and neceſſity, than of his own inclination.

Which when the Fugitives ſaw, they came in whole droves, and were courteouſly receiv'd by the Emperour; who having diſpoſed of Affairs in that City went thence to *Emiſa*. Where when he found that a Party of the *Palmyrenians* had got poſſeſſion of a certain Hill above the Suburbs of *Daphne* (and thought by the ſteepneſs of it to ſtop the Enemies paſſage) he commanded his Soldiers to march up with their Bucklers ſo near to one another and in ſo cloſe an order, as to keep off Darts and Stones, if any were thrown down upon 'em, by the meer contiguity of their Armour. And ſo they did. Nor were they ſooner got up the Hill, according to Command, but being in all points equal to their Adverſaries they put 'em to the run, [made 'em fly,] ſo that ſome of 'em were daſh'd to pieces down from the precipices, others kill'd in the purſuit by thoſe that were upon the Hill and thoſe that were a coming up. But let the Enemy ſcape as they could, when

the Day was theirs, they march'd on with great ſatisfaction, that the Emperor made his way with ſuch ſucceſs; whilſt *Apamea*, *Lariſſa* and *Arethuſa* entertain'd him. He therefore ſeeing the *Palmyrenian* Army drawn up before *Emiſa* in a body of ſeventy thouſand men, conſiſting of *Palmyrenes* and their Allies, he oppoſed 'em with the *Dalmatian* Cavalry; the *Myſians* and *Pannonians*, beſide thoſe of *Noricum* and *Rhætia*, which are *Celtick* Legions. Nay more than that, there were the beſt of all the Imperial Regiment, pick'd out and choſen man by man, the *Moriſco* Horſe, the *Tyaneans*, the *Meſopotamians*, the *Syrians*, the *Phenicians*, and the *Paleſtinians* out of *Aſia*, all men of undoubted courage: among whom the *Paleſtinians*, beſides their other Arms, had Clubs and Quarter-ſtaves. Now when they fell to it, the *Roman* Cavalry ſeemed a little to give way, leſt the *Palmyrenes* who were too many for 'em and better Horſemen ſhould by ſome ſtratagem environ the *Roman* Army. But in truth the *Palmyrene* Horſe purſu'd 'em ſo hard (though they broke their Ranks) that the event was quite contrary to what the *Roman* Cavalry expected. For they were purſu'd by an Enemy much too ſtrong for them; and therefore they were moſt

of

of 'em ſlain, but the fatigue of the Day lay chiefly, as it happen'd, upon the Foot. For ſeeing the *Palmyrenes* had broken their Ranks when the Horſe made their purſuit, they wheeled about and ſet upon 'em whilſt they were ſcatter'd and out of order. Whereupon many were kill'd becauſe the one ſide fought with uſual Weapons, but thoſe of *Paleſtine* brought Clubs and Staves againſt Coats of Maile made of iron and braſs. And that in ſome ſenſe was the chief cauſe of Victory; becauſe the Enemy was amazed to ſee 'em fight ſo ſtrangely with Clubs. The *Palmyrenes* therefore ran away as faſt as they could, and in their flight trod one another to pieces, though they were kill'd by the Enemy alſo; inſomuch that the Field was full of dead Men and Horſes, whilſt ſome that could get away, made into the City.

Zenobia (as you may ſuppoſe) was not a little diſturb'd at this defeat of hers, and therefore conſulted what was beſt to be done. But all her friends were of Opinion, that ſhe had better relinquiſh the thoughts of any pretenſions to *Emiſa*; becauſe the *Emiſenes* were diſaffected to her and friends to the *Romans*. But they adviſed her to keep within *Palmyra*, and, when they had ſecur'd themſelves in

that ſtrong City, they would deliberate about their grand Affairs at leiſure. Nor was this ſooner ſaid than done, by the concurrence of the whole Aſſembly.

But *Aurelianus*, when he heard that *Zenobia* was fled away, went into *Emiſa*, where he was frankly entertain'd by the Citizens; and having found a Treaſure, which *Zenobia* could not carry along with her, he immediately march'd with his Army to *Palmyra*, which he beſieged quite round; whilſt the neighbouring Countreys ſupply'd his men with all kind of Proviſions. In the mean time the *Palmyrenes* jeered the *Romans*, as if they thought it impoſſible for them to take the Town; and one Fellow in particular ſpoke very undecent words concerning the Emperors own Perſon; whereupon a certain *Perſian*, that ſtood by him, ſaid, If you pleaſe, Sir! you ſhall ſee me kill that impudent Raſcal; To which the Emperor conſented; and ſoo the *Perſian* preſently planting himſelf behind ſome other mens backs, that he might not be diſcover'd, ſhot at him juſt as he was looking over the Battlements, and hit him, whilſt he was yet uttering his inſolent language, ſo that he fell down from the Wall before the Soldiers and the Emperor.

Yet

Yet the beſieged ſtood it out, as hoping that the Enemy would draw off for want of Proviſions; and perſiſted in their reſolutions, till they found themſelves want Neceſſaries. Whereupon they called a Council, in which it was determined, that they would fly immediately to *Euphrates* and there deſire aid of the *Perſians* in order to ſome new action againſt the *Romans*. Having ſo decreed they ſet *Zenobia* upon a She-Camel (which is the ſwifteſt of that kind of Beaſts and much fleeter than Horſes are) and ſo convey'd her out of the City.

Aurelianus was troubled at *Zenobias*'s eſcape; and therefore employ'd all his induſtry to ſend out Horſemen in purſuit of her. And they indeed took her, juſt as ſhe was going over *Euphrates*, out of the Boat, and brought her to *Aurelianus*. At which ſurprizing ſight though he was very much rejoyced, yet being naturally ambitious, and conſidering, that it would be no great honour to him in after-times to have conquer'd a Woman, he ſeemed a little uneaſie.

In the mean while ſome of the *Palmyrenes*, that were ſhut up in the Town reſolved bravely to expoſe themſelves and run the riſque of being taken, in defence of their City againſt the *Romans*; as, on

the other hand ſome of 'em uſed humble, ſubmiſſive geſtures from off the Walls, and begg'd pardon for what was paſt. Which ſeeing the Emperour accepted and bad 'em be of good chear, they came pouring out of the Town, with Preſents and Sacrifices in their hands. Whereupon *Aurelianus* having pay'd all due reſpect to their Holy Things, receiv'd their gifts and ſent them away uninjur'd.

But when he was once made Maſter of this Town, with all the Stores, Money and Donaries in it, he went back to *Emiſa*, where he called *Zenobia* and her Accomplices to account by way of publick Judicature. *Zenobia* therefore coming into the Court pleaded much in excuſe of her ſelf and produced many Perſons, who ſeduced her as being a ſimple Woman; and among the reſt, *Longinus*, (whoſe Writings are very beneficial to all Lovers of Learning) upon whom (being found guilty of the Crimes objected againſt him) the Emperour immediately paſs'd the ſentence of Death; which he bore with ſo much courage, that he ſpoke comfortable words even to his friends who were ſo much concern'd for his misfortunes. But beſides *Longinus* there were others alſo that ſuffer'd upon *Zenobia's* accuſation.

Now

Now it were worth while to tell you what happen'd before the ſacking of *Palmyra*; though I pretend onely to write a tranſient Hiſtory as I told you in my Preface. For whereas *Polybius* gives us an account, how the *Romans* acquired a vaſt Empire in a ſhort time, I, on the contrary, am to ſhew how by their own ill management they in as ſhort a time loſt it. But of that when I come to that part of the Hiſtory; [I am now ſpeaking of] the *Palmyrenes*: who having gain'd a great ſhare of the *Roman* Empire (as I told you) had ſeveral Declarations from the Gods, which did portend that overthrow of theirs, which afterward fell out. As for example. At *Seleucia* in *Cilicia* there was a Temple of *Apollo* (called there *Sarpedonius*) and in that Temple, an Oracle. (But as to what is reported of that God (That he uſed to give all thoſe, who were infeſted with ſwarms of Locuſts, a certain kind of Birds, called *Seleuciades*, that uſed to be about his Temple, and would ſend 'em along with all People who deſired it; and that the Birds would fly among the Locuſts, take 'em in their mouths and kill an infinite number of them in a moment, ſo as to free People from the trouble of 'em) I aſcribe to the happineſs of that Age; ſince our genera-

tion has rejected ſuch kindneſs from Heaven.) Now the *Palmyrenes* having conſulted this Oracle, to know, if they ſhould ever get the Empire of the Eaſt, the Anſwer was this;

Avoid my Temple, Curſed, treacherous
(Nation!
Enough to put the Gods themſelves in
(paſſion.

And when certain perſons enquired there alſo about the ſucceſs of *Aurelianus*'s expedition againſt the *Palmyrenes*, the God told them;

One Falcon many Doves commands, whoſe
(end
Upon his fatal pounces does depend.

Beſides which, there goes likewiſe another ſtory of the *Palmyrenes*, and that's this: There is a place between *Heliopolis* and *Biblis* called *Aphaca*, where there is a Temple dedicated to *Venus Aphacitis*, and near unto it a Pond much like an artificial Ciſtern, and where likewiſe there is often ſeen, about the Temple and in places adjacent, a fire in the Air, reſembling a Lamp or of a round Figure, which has appeared even in our time,

time, as often as people met there on ſuch and ſuch days. Which whoſoever did, brought to the Pond ſome Preſent or other for the Goddeſs, whether of Gold, Silver, Linnen, Silk, or any other rich thing. By whom if it were accepted, the Cloth, like things of far greater weight, ſunk to the bottom; but if they were rejected, you might ſee 'em float upon the top of the Water; not onely Cloth and ſuch like, but even that which was made of Silver and Gold or other materials which are not apt to ſwim but ſink. For an experiment of which Miracle the *Palmyrenes*, in the year before their overthrow, met together upon an Holy-day, and threw into the Pond ſeveral Preſents of Gold, Silver and Cloth, in honour of the Goddeſs, which, all of 'em ſunk to the bottom, but the next year upon the ſame Feſtival, were ſeen to float a top of the Water, by which the Goddeſs foretold what ſhould afterward come to paſs.

Now in this manner was the kindneſs of Heaven ſhewn to the *Romans*, as long as they kept up their holy Rites. But I come to ſpeak of thoſe times, in which the *Roman* Empire degenerated to a kind of Barbarity, and fell to decay; I will ſhew the reaſons of ſuch misfortunes, and

and set forth those Oracles, whereby such things were predicted.

In the mean time I ought to return thither from whence I digress'd: lest I should seem to leave the order of the History imperfect. *Aurelianus* therefore marching toward *Europe*, and carrying *Zenobia*, her Son, and all the rest, who were Confederates in the Rebellion along with him, they say *Zenobia* died either of a Disease or for want of eating; but that all the rest were drown'd in the Streight between *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon*.

Nevertheless *Aurelianus* continu'd his Journey into *Europe*; when, by the way, a Messenger came and told him, there were a parcel of men whom he had left in *Palmyra*, that, having won *Apsæus* (the great Author of all that was past) were tampering with *Marcellinus* (whom the Emperor had made Prefect of *Mesopotamia*, and Governour of the East) to take upon him the Imperial Robe. But he, under pretence of taking time to deliberate, put 'em off so long, that they importun'd him again several times. Wherefore he was fain to frame ambiguous answers to their Demands, till he had given *Aurelianus* notice what he design'd

to

to do. But the *Palmyrenes* [in the mean time] having cloathed *Antiochus* in a purple garment, kept at *Palmyra*.

When *Aurelianus* heard that, he went into the Eaſt, juſt as he was, [without any other preparations] and coming to *Antioch* ſurpriz'd all the People, who were then at an Horſe-match, and mightily aſtoniſh'd to ſee him; but from thence he went on to *Palmyra*. Which Town he took and razed without fighting for it; but not thinking that *Antiochus* was worth the puniſhing upon the account of his mean condition, he diſmiſs'd him. After which action of his, he quickly reduced the *Alexandrians*, who were inclinable to a Rebellion, as being already in a tumult. For which he rode in Triumph into *Rome*, where he was moſt magnificently receiv'd by the Senate and People. At this time alſo he built that ſumptuous Temple of the Sun, which he adorn'd with all thoſe holy ſpoils, that he brought from *Palmyra*; ſetting up in it the Statues of the Sun and *Belus*. Which having done, he eaſily ſubdu'd *Tetricus*, with his rebellious Complices, whom he brought to condign puniſhment. He likewiſe called in all the counterfeit money and gave out new, to avoid confuſion in Trade. Beſides which he alſo beſtow'd a Dole of Bread,

Bread, as a mark of his favour, upon the people: and having ſetled all Affairs began his Journey from *Rome*.

But whilſt he ſtaid at *Perinthus* (now call'd *Heraclea*) there was a Plot laid againſt him, which was thus: There was a certain Perſon in the Court call'd *Eros*, whoſe place it was to carry forth the Emperors Anſwers. This man the Emperor had threaten'd for ſome fault or other and put him in a fright; upon which account he dreading, leſt the Emperour ſhould make good his menaces by his actions, goes to certain of the Guard, whom he knew to be the boldeſt Fellows in all the Court, tells 'em a plauſible Story, and ſhews 'em a Letter of his own Writing, juſt like the Emperours, (which he had learn'd to counterfeit long before) and perſuading them firſt, that they themſelves were to be murther'd (for that was the plain meaning and ſcope of the Letter) he endeavour'd to induce them to kill the Emperour. They therefore obſerving *Aurelianus* to go out of the City without any great Attendance ran in upon him with their naked Swords and murther'd him. But he was buried there upon the place very magnificently by the Army in token of the great Services that he had done, and dangers

that

that he had undergone for the good of the Publick.

After him *Tacitus* got the Empire, in whoſe time the *Scythians* came over the Fenn of *Meotis* and made their incurſions through *Pontus* even into *Cilicia*, till *Tacitus* ſet upon 'em; who partly in his own Perſon, and partly by *Florianus*, Prefect of the Court whom he left in Commiſſion for that end, kill'd and quite routed 'em all; but went himſelf into *Europe*, where he was circumvented and kill'd after this manner. He had committed the Government of *Syria* to his Couſin, *Maximinus*, who treated the Nobility of the Countrey ſo roughly, that he made 'em envy and fear him both together. And that begot ſuch an hatred in them, that they at laſt conſpiring with them who had murther'd *Aurelianus*, aſſaulted *Maximinus*, and having kill'd him, ſlew *Tacitus* alſo as he was juſt decamping.

Now therefore all things revolv'd into a civil Diſturbance, whilſt thoſe of the Eaſt choſe *Probus*, Emperor, and thoſe at *Rome*, *Florianus*. Of whom the former was Governour of all *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine* and *Egypt*; but the latter had all the Countreys from *Cilicia* to *Italy*: beſides that to him likewiſe all the Nations

ons beyond the *Alpes*, the *Gauls*, *Spaniards*, *Britains*, and *Africans* in general, did homage.

Wherefore when they were both now ready for a War, *Florianus* came to *Tarſus* and reſolv'd to pitch his Camp there, leaving his Victory againſt the *Scythians* at the *Boſphorus* unfiniſh'd, whereby he gave them an opportunity to recover themſelves and return to their own homes, though he had block'd 'em up. But *Probus* protracted the time, becauſe he came with leſs preparation for a War; by which means it came to paſs, that the Weather (in Summer-time) being extream hot. *Florianus*'s Soldiers, who were moſt of 'em *Europæans*, and conſequently not uſed to ſuch exceſſive heat, died of a peſtilent Diſtemper. Which when *Probus* underſtood, he thought it beſt to attaque the Enemy in time. Whereupon *Florianus*'s men attempting ſomewhat beyond their ſtrength, made certain light Skirmiſhes before the City, but ſeeing there was nothing done worth the ſpeaking of, the Armies being divided, ſome of *Probus*'s Soldiers came and depoſed *Florianus*. Which when they had done, he was kept in cuſtody for a time, till his own men ſaid, that was not done by *Probus*'s order; and ſo *Florianus* put on the Purple

Robe

Robe again till they came back who were ſent to know the truth of *Probus*'s reſolution in the matter; who upon their return cauſed *Florianus* to be ſlain by his own Soldiers.

When *Probus* had thus gotten the Empire he marched forward and did indeed a very commendable act for the publick good, as a prelude to what he afterward would do. For he reſolv'd to puniſh thoſe that had murther'd *Aurelianus* and plotted againſt *Tacitus*; though he did not put his deſign openly in execution for fear of an inſurrection, but planted a Company of men, that he had confidence in, at a convenient Poſt near which he invited the Murtherers to a Feaſt. VVho when they came thither in expectation to be treated at the Emperors Table, *Probus* went up into a kind of *Gallery* [or *Balcony*] from whence he might ſee the action, and gave his men the ſignal when they ſhould do the feat. Which they no ſooner receiv'd but they fell upon the Murtherers naked as they were, and kill'd 'em all but one, whom he afterward burnt alive, as being a very dangerous Fellow.

Whilſt *Probus* did theſe things, *Saturninus*, a *Moor*, who was the Emperours moſt familiar friend, and, for that reaſon,

ſon, had the Government of *Syria* committed to him, revolted from his Allegiance to the Emperor, and turn'd Rebel. Which when *Probus* heard, he reſolved to obviate his deſigns, but that the Eaſtern Soldiers prevented him by deſtroying *Saturninus* with all his treacherous machinations.

He likewiſe ſuppreſſed another inſurrection in *Britain* by [the aſſiſtance of] *Victorinus*. a *Moor*, who had perſuaded him to make that Rebel Governour of *Britain*. For having ſent for *Victorinus* to him, and reproved him for his advice, he ſent him to correct the miſcarriage; who going forthwith into *Britain* took off the Traytor by a wile.

Probus therefore having managed things, according as I have related, obtain'd ſeveral Victories againſt the *Barbarians* alſo, in two ſeveral Wars; the one of which he himſelf was preſent in, but left the other to the conduct of his Lieutenant. But becauſe he ſaw it neceſſary to aſſiſt the Cities of *Germany* that lay upon the *Rhine* and were infeſted by the *Barbarians*, he march'd with his Army toward the *Rhine*. Where when the War began, there was a grievous famine in all the Countrey thereabouts; but a mighty ſhower fell at the ſame time of Rain and

Corn

Corn together, inſomuch that in ſome places there were great heaps of it made by its own deſcent. At which ſtrange ſight, all People were ſo much aſtoniſh'd, that at firſt they durſt not touch the Corn to ſatisfie their hunger; but being at laſt forc'd to it by neceſſity, which is above all fear, they made Bread of it, which they ate; and thereby not onely ſatisfied their hunger, but got the Victory alſo with a great deal of eaſe, through the Emperors good ſucceſs. He alſo put an end to many other Wars with little or no trouble; and fought ſharp Battels, firſt againſt the *Logiones*, a *German* Nation, whom he conquer'd, and took *Semno* their General with his Son Priſoners, but pardon'd 'em upon ſubmiſſion; though he took all their Captives and their plunder from 'em, and ſo upon certain Terms diſmiſſed not only common perſons, but even *Semno* and his Son.

Another Battel that he fought was againſt the *Franks*, whom when he had bravely ſubdu'd by the good management of his Officers, He made War upon the *Burgundi*, and the *Vandili*. But ſeeing his Forces were too weak, he contriv'd how to ſingle out and engage with ſome part onely of the Enemies forces. And indeed Fortune favour'd his deſign; for

the Armies lying on both ſides of the River, the *Romans* challeng'd the *Barbarians* that were on the further ſide, to fight. At which they were ſo incenſed, that as many as could, got over; where they joyn'd Battel, and fought, till the *Barbarians* were partly ſlain, and partly taken alive by the *Romans:* except ſome few that were left who deſired Peace upon condition to give up their Captives and their plunder; which they obtain'd. But becauſe they did not reſtore all they had, the Emperor was therefore ſo angry, that he in juſtice fell upon 'em as they march'd away, and, killing many of them, took their General *Igillus* Priſoner. But as many of 'em as he took alive, he ſent into *Britain*; where they inhabited the Iſland and were afterward very uſeful to the Emperor upon any Inſurrection.

When he had in this manner perfected theſe Wars upon the *Rhine*, the *Iſaurians* did ſomething about that time which we ought not to omit. For there was one *Lydius*, an *Iſaurian*, and a continual Robber from his Youth, who with a gang of Rogues like himſelf had pillaged all *Pamphilia* and *Lycia*. Now when the Soldiers came to take theſe Thieves, this ſame *Lydius* (becauſe he could not oppoſe the whole *Roman* Army) went to a place

place called *Crymna*, in *Lycia*, which ſtands upon a Precipice and is fortified on the one ſide with mighty deep Ditches. Where finding a great many that fled thither for refuge, and obſerving the *Romans* to be very intent upon the Siege, in that they bore the fatigue of it very ſtoutly; he for that reaſon pull'd down the Houſes, and making the ground fit for Tillage ſow'd Corn in order to maintain thoſe that were in the Town.

But ſeeing the number was ſo great that they wanted much more proviſions, he turn'd all thoſe out of the Town who were of no uſe, both male and female. But the Enemy perceiving his deſign forced 'em back again: whereupon *Lydius* took and threw 'em headlong into the Trenches that were about the Walls, where they died. Which having done he made a wonderful Mine from the Town outward beyond the Enemies Camp, through which he ſent certain perſons out of the Town, to ſteal Cattel and other forage. By which means he provided for the beſieged a good while, till a Woman diſcover'd the matter to the Enemies. But for all that *Lydius* did not deſpond; only he retrench'd his men by degrees in their Wine and gave 'em a ſomething leſs allowance of Corn. Yet this way would

not do neither, but he was driven to ſuch neceſſity, that he kill'd all who were in the Town, except ſome friends of his that were enough (as he thought) to defend it; and thoſe he ſpared, as likewiſe ſome Women whom he order'd to be in common among 'em all for the neceſſary uſe of Nature.

But when he had reſolv'd to ſtand it out againſt all dangers, there happen'd at laſt this accident: There was a Man with him in the Town that knew how to make Engines and to uſe 'em alſo very dexterouſly in ſlinging of Darts ſo exactly, that when *Lydius* had bid him ſhoot at any one of the Enemies he would never miſs his mark. Now it happen'd, that *Lydius* had bid him hit ſuch a Perſon, whom he miſs'd (either by chance or on purpoſe) for which he ſtrip'd and whip'd him moſt ſeverely, and threaten'd him with death beſides. The man therefore was ſo enraged upon the account of the blows which he receiv'd, and ſo affrighted at the menaces, that he took an occaſion to ſteal out of the Town: and falling into the company of certain Soldiers to whom he told whatever he had done or ſuffer'd, he ſhew'd 'em a Window in the Wall, through which *Lydius* uſed to ſpy all that was done in their Camp, and promiſed

miſed them to ſhoot him as he, after his uſual manner, was looking through it. Thereupon the Captain or chief Officer in that Expedition receiv'd the man into his favour; who when he had planted his Engine, and placed ſome men before him that he might not be diſcover'd by the Enemy, took aim at *Lydius* as he look'd through the hole [in the Wall] and with a Dart ſhot and gave him his mortal Wound. Which he no ſooner receiv'd, but he was very ſevere upon ſome of his own men; whom when he had obliged upon Oath never to ſurrender the Town, he with much ſtruggling expir'd.

But ſeeing that *Ptolemais*, which is in *Thebais*, was revolted from the Emperor, and had undertaken a War, though not likely long to endure; *Probus* forced both that and its Allies the *Blemmyæ* to a Surrender, by the good conduct of his then preſent Officers. He likewiſe left the *Baſternæ*, a *Scythian* people, that ſubmitted to him, in *Thrace*, where he gave them room to inhabit: upon which account they conſtantly obſerv'd the *Roman* Laws and Cuſtoms.

Another time when the *Franks* came to the Emperor and had a Countrey given 'em, ſome part of 'em afterward revolted,

ed, and having gotten a great number of Ships disturbed all *Greece*. From whence they went into *Sicily*, to *Syracuse*, which they attaqu'd and kill'd a great many men in it. At length they arrived in *Africa*, where though they were not entertein'd, but repelled by a body of men out of *Carthage*, yet they return'd home without any hurt or damage.

But then there was this one thing more that happen'd in *Probus*'s Reign: There were eighty *Gladiators* who consspir'd together, and having kill'd their keepers, ran out into the City, and plunder'd all before 'em; not but that there were many other men too (as it is usual in such cases) mix'd among 'em. But the Emperor sent a party, and suppress'd 'em. Now when *Probus*, who was a brave, and a just Prince, had done thus,..... The end of this Book is wanting, but is supplied hereafter.

A New

A New

HISTORY

Written by

Count *ZOSIMUS*,

Sometime Advocate of the Treaſury.

The Second Book.

THE *beginning of this Book is loſt (for there is no mention here of* Carus *and his Sons) and therefore to ſupply that defect we muſt have recourſe to other Authors, which afford us this ſhort account.*— Carus *ſucceeded* Probus, *and went againſt the* Perſians *as far as* Cteſiphon, *where he gain'd the name of, The* Perſian *Emperor. But ſoon after he was taken off, as ſome* Note.

ſay, by a Diſeaſe; though others, by a Thunderbolt. He had two Sons, the one called Numerianus, *a very hopeful Youth, of whom the Commonwealth might have expected all happineſs and good imaginable, had he not been murther'd by* Aper; *the other named* Carinus, *an Adulterer, lecher, prodigal, and indeed a perſon utterly abandon'd to all kind of Vice, whom* Diocletian, *formerly called* Auguſtus, *ſlew. So far by way of Supplement, and now* ZOSIMUS *begins abruptly, thus:*

* * * * * * Becauſe the longeſt time that any man lives is onely equal to the intermediate ſpace between theſe Games. For the *Romans* call that [*Seculum*] which we call [αἰὼν] [*ævum*] an Age, or the ſpace of one hundred years. And it is good to cure the Plague, Conſumption, or ſeveral other Diſeaſes; of whoſe Original take this account. ——*Valeſus Valeſius*, from the family of the *Valeriani* came, was a great man among the *Sabines*, and before his houſe there was a Grove of waſt tall Trees, which were burnt with Lightning and gave him occaſion to queſtion what might be the portent of ſuch an accident. Wherefore his Children falling ſick he conſulted not onely the Doctors but the Southſayers alſo; who told him, that by the manner of the fires falling, the

the Gods were angry; which made *Valeſius* wiſely uſe that aſſiſtance in ſacrificing to appeaſe the Gods. And being in a fright, both he and his Wife, who expected every minute when their Children would die, he fell proſtrate before *Veſta*, and promiſed to offer up two entire Souls inſtead of their Children, which was, his own and that of their Mother. But turning to the Grove that was Thunder-burnt, he ſeemed to hear a Voice, that bid him carry the Children to *Tarentum*, and there warm ſome *Tiber* Water over the fire of *Dis* and *Proſerpine*, and give it the Children to drink. Which when he had heard quite out he then deſpaired the more of his Childrens recovery. For *Tarentum* was a great way off, and beſides there was no *Tiber* Water to be had at it: and then it made him think the worſe of it, that he heard the Voice ſay the Water muſt be warm'd upon the Altar of Infernal Deities, or *Demons*. At which the very Southſayers alſo themſelves were ſtartled; but however when he heard it the ſecond time, he reſolv'd to obey the Gods command. And putting his Children in a ſmall River Veſſel, he carry'd the fire along with him. Now the Children were almoſt ready to faint by reaſon of the heat, whilſt he made

ſail

ſail to that part of the River, where the ſtream is moſt calm; and lodging at a Shepherds Cottage, together with his Children, he heard a Voice ſay, he muſt ſtay at *Tarentum* (for ſo the place was called, and had the ſame name with *Tarentum* which is near the *Japygian* Promontory, or *Capo di St. Maria.*) Whereupon *Valeſius* when he had pay'd due Adoration to the Gods for that good fortune, he bad the Pilot put to ſhore, and landing told the Shepherds all the whole Story. And preſently after having drawn ſome Water out of *Tiber* and warm'd it upon an Altar of his own making, he gave it his Children to drink: who as ſoon as they had ſwallow'd it fell aſleep and were perfectly cur'd. But they fancy'd in that ſleep that they ſaw ſomething, which bad 'em offer black Victims to *Dis* and *Proſerpine*, and ſpend three Nights in ſinging and dancing: which Dream they told to their Father, and that it was an huge man, of a Godlike preſence; that bad 'em do it in the *Campus Martius*, where the Horſe-Races uſe to be. But *Valeſius* having a mind to build an Altar in that place, he ſet the Stonecutters to dig, who found an Altar ready made, upon which there was this inſcription, *To Dis and Proſerpine.* By which he

he was more plainly inſtructed what to do, ſacrificed the black Victims upon that Altar, and kept the Vigils in that place.

Now this ſame Altar and the manner of Sacrificing upon it was occaſion'd thus: The *Romans* and the *Albanes* were at War, and, being both Arm'd, there appeared a monſtrous Shape, clothed in a black skin, and crying out, That *Dis* and *Proſerpine* commanded them to ſacrifice to their Deities before they engaged: and when it had ſo ſaid, it diſappeared. Whereupon the *Romans*, who were affrighted at the ſight, made an Altar under ground, and when they had ſacrificed upon it, they buried it twenty feet deep, ſo that it might not be diſcover'd by any but *Romans*. Now *Valeſius* having found it, he according to order both ſacrificed upon it, and kept the Vigils; from whence he was called *Manius Valerius Tarentinus*. For the *Romans* call [the Infernal Gods,] Manes] and [to be in good health] is [Valere]; and then he was called [Tarentinus] from [Tarentum,] where he ſacrificed. But ſome time after when a Plague happen'd in the City, which was the year after their Kings were expell'd, *Pub. Valer. Poplicola* ſacrificed a black Ox and a black Heifer to *Dis* and

and *Proſerpine* whereby he freed the City from the Diſeaſe, and wrote upon the Altar this Inſcription; — *I* Publius Valerius Poplicola *have dedicated Fire to* Dis *and* Proſerpine *in the* Campus Martius, *and have alſo made Shews in honour of them to preſerve the people of* Rome.

But after this when Diſeaſes and Wars lay heavy upon them, which happen'd in the year 352, ſince the City was built, the Senate had a mind to rid themſelves of thoſe Calamities out of the *Sibylls* Oracles, and therefore commanded them whoſe buſineſs it was, to conſult thoſe Oracles. Who having ſo done, they told the Senate, that if they ſacrificed to *Dis* and *Proſerpine*, it would put an end to all their miſeries. They therefore got a convenient place, which they devoted to *Dis* and *Proſerpine* according as they were commanded, when *Marcus Potitus* was in his fourth Conſulſhip. And when the Ceremony was over, they, being deliver'd from their grievances, laid up the Altar again in ſome extream part of the *Campus Martius*. And after that this kind of Sacrificing was for ſome years neglected, till ſome misfortunes befell them, and then *Octavianus Auguſtus* renew'd the Games, which had been celebrated before, when *Lucius Cenſorinus*, and *Marcus Manlius Pu-*

elius

elius were Conſuls, but were kept at that time under the Conſulate of *Lucius Cenſorinus* and *Caius Sabinus*, when *Ateius Capito* had explain'd the Laws concerning them, and the fifteen Men, that had the keeping of the *Sibylls* Books, had found out the time when the Sacrifice was to be perform'd and the Shews made. When *Auguſtus* was dead, *Claudius* celebrated thoſe Games, without any regard to the due time. But after him, *Domitian*, who did not mind what *Claudius* had done, computed the years from the time that *Auguſtus* kept that Feſtival, and ſeemed to obſerve the original Inſtitution. And after them *Severus*, in the 110th year, reſtored thoſe very Games, he and his two Sons, *Antoninus* and *Geta*, when *Chilo* and *Libo* were Conſuls. Now the manner of theſe Games is ſaid to be this:— The Beadles went about at that time and invited all the People to ſuch a Sight as they never had ſeen, nor ever were like to ſee any more. And in the Summer-time, a little before the Games began, the fifteen Men ſate in the Capitol, in the Temple *Palatine* upon a Tribunal, from whence they diſtributed a kind of purifying preparations to the People (called *Luſtralia*) which were Torches, Brimſtone, and Pitch: of which none participate but

Freemen

Freemen onely. And when the People come together in the places aforesaid and in the Temple of *Diana*, which is upon the *Aventine* Hill, each one brings Wheat Barly and Beans, and keep Vigils in the Night to the fatal Sisters. But when the time of the Festival is come, which they celebrate three days and three nights together in the *Campus Martius*, the Victims are consecrated near the bank of *Tiber* at *Tarentum*. And there they sacrifice to several Deities; as *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*; and, besides them to the *Parcæ*, *Lucinæ*, *Ceres*, *Dis* and *Proserpine*, which is perform'd in this Order. The first night that these Shews are made, about two of the Clock, the Emperour, with the fifteen Men, sacrificeth three Lambs upon three Altars that are provided on purpose by the Rivers side, where having sprinkled the Altars with blood he offers up the Victims whole. Then, when they have prepared a Scene without a Theatre, they set up a great many lights and make an huge fire, by which they sing some new Hymn, to make the Games the more solemn. And those that perform'd these things have the first fruits of their Wheat, Barly and Beans for their labour. For those, I told you, are distributed among the people. The next day

day they go up into the Capitol, where they offer the uſual Sacrifices, and thence coming to the place appointed for it, they celebrate Games in honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. The day after that, the great Ladies come into the Capitol at the hour which the Oracle has prefix'd, where they behave themſelves with all due reverence: and at the third hour in the Temple of *Apollo* near the Palace, twenty ſeven fine Boys with as many Girles, whoſe Parents are all alive, ſing Hymns and ſpeak in *Greek* and *Latin*, whereby the *Roman* Dominions are preſerv'd. But beſides theſe there were other things done according to the divine preſcript; which as long as they were kept up, ſecur'd the *Roman* Empire. And to confirm you that it was really as I ſay, I will add the *Sibylls* Oracle, which others have mention'd before my time; and it runs thus:

But when an hundred years and ten are paſt
Which is the longeſt time Mans Age doth (laſt,
Romans! *be ſure (and ſee you don't mi-(ſtake*
In any point) due Offerings to make
To Heaven, and ſee you bring the Sacrifice
Into that Field which on the Tiber *lies:*
And

And do so, in that Season, when the Nigh
Deprives Men least of the Diurnal Light,
After Sun-set; Then to the Parcæ *pay*
Your homage; and upon their Altars lay
Young Sheep and Goats: Next the Lucinæ
(please,
With decent Rites, who childing Women ease.
After that offer a black Hog and Sow
To Tellus, *for the product of the Plow.*
But to Joves *Altar bring the Bulls Milk-*
(white
For Victims, in the Day-time, not by Night:
(For heavenly Deities accept of none
But what are offer'd in the Day alone.)
And so to Juno *sacrifice a Cow*
Spotless all o'r, and pure as falling Snow,
Then let Apollo, *whom they call the Sun,*
And Phœbus, *have his equal honours done.*
Whilst in the Temple Latin *Girls and Boys*
In sacred Hymns make a Triumphant noise.
But let 'em be apart, the Girls to stand
And sing on this, the Boys on t'other hand:
Besides this caution I must farther give
That all the Parents of 'em be alive.
As for the married Women, let them pray
To Juno *on their knees, that each one may*
Have their desire, both Men and Women too
But chiefly Women. Then, Let all of you
Bring from your houses what is fit to bring,
(As the first-fruits of every useful Thing)
To the immortal Gods an Offering.

And

And let all that upon your Altars lie,
Whence you may Men and Women both sup-
(ply.
But to attend the Gods be ſure there be
Both night and day a numerous company
Of Votaries both ſerious and free.
Obſerve theſe precepts, and you ſhall ſub-
(due
Not onely Latium *but all* Italy *too,*
Who ſhall ſubmit their ſupple necks to
(you.

Now that the Empire was ſecure and likely to continue Lords of almoſt all the known World, whilſt theſe things were duly perform'd, according to what the Oracle directs and the thing it ſelf requires: and on the other ſide, that when theſe Ceremonies were neglected, about the time that *Diocleſian* laid down his Imperial State, it fell to decay and inſenſibly degenerated moſt part into Barbariſm, experience it ſelf aſſures us. And that I ſay nothing but what is true I'll prove from Chronology. For from the Conſulate of *Chilo* and *Libo*, wherein *Severus* celebrated the Secular Games, or Ceremonies, it was an hundred and one years till *Diocleſian* was the ninth time, and *Maximianus* the eighth time Conſul. And then *Diocleſian* from an Emperor turn'd a

private person, and *Maximianus* follow'd his Example. But when *Constantinus* and *Licinnius* were in their third Consulship, the 110 years were compleated, and they ought to have kept the Festival according to custom; but it was neglected, and so things consequently ran to that unhappy condition wherein they now are.

But *Diecleſian* died in three years after, and the Emperors that were at that time, that is to say, *Constantinus* and *Maximianus Gallerius* declared *Severus* and *Maximinus* (who was *Gallerius*'s Sisters Son) to be the rightful *Cesars*, giving all *Italy* to *Severus* and the Eastern Provinces to *Maximinus*. But when things were all setled, and the *Barbarians* at quiet since the *Romans* had been so successful against 'em, *Constantinus*, who was begotten by *Constantius* of a Concubine, and had formerly an ambition to be Emperor, but was enflamed the more with that desire, since *Severus* and *Maximinus* had gotten the name and honour of *Cesars*, was now resolv'd to leave the place where he dwelt, and go to his Father *Constantius*, who was beyond the *Alps*, most commonly in *England*. But fearing, lest he might be taken by the way (for a great many knew very well, how much he was in love with Domi-

Dominion) he maimed all the Horſes that were kept for publick Service, as faſt as he came to any Stable where they were, and took the next for his own uſe. And ſo he did continually; by which means he ſtopp'd thoſe that purſu'd him from going farther, whilſt he himſelf went on toward the Country where his Father was.

But it happen'd that the Emperor *Conſtantius* died juſt at that time, and therefore the Guards, who thought none of his legitimate Children fit for the Imperial Dignity, as ſoon as they conſidered that *Conſtantinus* was a perſon capable of it, conferred the honour upon him, in hopes of great Preſents by way of remuneration. But when his Image was ſhewn at *Rome* as the cuſtom is, *Maxentius*, the Son of *Maximianus Herculius* could not endure to ſee, that *Conſtantinus* ſhould ſucceed ſo well, who was born of an Harlot, whereas he himſelf who was Son of ſuch an Emperor, lay at home and idle, whilſt others enjoy'd his Fathers Empire, wherefore he made *Marcellianus* and *Marcellus*, two Tribunes of the Soldiers, and *Lucianus* (who diſtributed the Swines fleſh, which the Treaſury provided for the people of *Rome*) and the Court-Guards, called the *Prætoriani*, his Accomplices in the Attempt, and by them was promoted into the Im-

perial Throne, having promiſed to reward all thoſe that aſſiſted him in it, very liberally. Now the firſt thing, that they did in order to it, was the killing of *Abellius*, becauſe he being Prefect of the City, ſeemed to reſiſt their Enterpriſe.

When *Maximianus Gallerius* heard this, he ſent *Severus Ceſar* with an Army to fight *Maxentius*.. But whilſt he came from *Millain* with ſeveral Legions of *Moors*, *Maxentius* corrupted moſt of his Soldiers with Money, even to the Prefect of the Court, called *Anullinus*, and thereby conquer'd him with great facility. Upon which *Severus* fled to *Ravenna*, which is a very ſtrong and populous City, furniſh'd with proviſions enough for him and his Soldiers. When *Maximianus Herculius* knew that, he was mightily concern'd for his Son *Maxentius*, no queſtion, and therefore leaving *Lucania*,, where he then was, he went for *Ravenna*. And ſeeing *Severus* could by no means be forced out of the City, becauſe it was well fortified and ſtored with all neceſſary proviſions, he cheated him with falſe Oaths and perſuaded him to go to *Rome*. But as he was agoing, and came to a place, called the *Three Taverns*, he was taken by a Trick of *Maxentius*'s contriving and hang'd. But *Maximianus Gallerius* could not well bear

thoſe

thoſe injuries done to *Severus*, and ſo reſolv'd to come out of the Eaſt to *Rome*, and puniſh *Maxentius* according to his demerits. But when he was come into *Italy*, he found the Soldiers about him ſo falſe, that he went back into the Eaſt without fighting ſo much as one Battel.

At that time *Maximianus Herculius*, who could not endure the tumults which diſturb'd the publick peace, came to *Diocleſian*, who lived then at *Carnutum*, a Town in *Gallia Celtica*; and endeavour'd to perſuade him, that he would reſume the Empire, and not ſuffer that Government, which they had preſerv'd ſo long with ſo much difficulty, to be expoſed to the madneſs and folly of thoſe who had poſſeſs'd themſelves of it, and made it ſhake already. But *Diocleſian* did not hearken to him; for he preferr'd his quiet before all buſineſs in the World (and perhaps he foreſaw the trouble that would enſue, being a man much converſant in religious matters) and therefore *Herculius* ſeeing he could do no good upon him, came as far as *Ravenna* and ſo back to the *Alps*, to meet *Conſtantinus* who lay thereabout. And being naturally a buſie, faithleſs man, he promiſed *Conſtantinus* his Daughter *Fauſta* (which he perform'd) but withal perſuaded him to purſue *Maxi-*

mianus Gallerius who was going out of *Italy*, and lay wait for *Maxentius*. To all which *Conſtantinus* conſented, and then he left him, with a Deſign if poſſible to recover the Empire, becauſe he hoped to ſet his Son-in-law *Conſtantinus* and his Son *Maxentius* together by the Ears.

But whilſt he attempted theſe things, *Maximianus Gallerius*, made *Licinnius*, his old acquaintance and friend, Emperor, by whoſe aſſiſtance he deſign'd to cope with *Maxentius*. But whilſt *Gallerius* was conſulting about theſe things, he died of an incurable Wound, and then *Licinnius* alſo claim'd the ſole Dominion. But *Maximianus Herculius*, as I told you, endeavour'd to recover the Empire by alienating the Soldiers affections from *Maxentius*. In order whereunto he wheedled 'em with gifts and pitiful addreſſes, and having brought 'em over to him, he would have laid a Plot againſt *Conſtantinus*, in which his Soldiers ſhould have conſpir'd. But *Fauſta* diſcover'd it to *Conſtantinus*; and ſo *Herculius*, who was now at his Wits end through ſo many diſappointments, died of a Diſtemper at *Tarſus*.

Maxentius having eſcaped this Danger, and being now of Opinion that he had ſetled the Empire well enough, he ſent certain Perſons into *Africa*, to *Carthage*

in

in particular, to carry his Image about that Country. But the Soldiers that were there, forbad it, out of their love to *Gallerius Maximianus*, and their honour to his memory, till they heard that *Maxentius* was coming to make War againſt 'em upon the ſcore of that inſurrection, and then they went to *Alexandria:* but meeting with a great Army which they were not able to deal with, they return'd to *Carthage*. Hereupon *Maxentius* being diſturb'd, reſolv'd to ſail for *Africa*, and puniſh thoſe that occaſion'd ſuch commotions. But when the Soothſayers had ſacrificed and told him ill ſigns, he was afraid to go, not onely becauſe the entrails appear'd in that manner, but alſo leſt *Alexander*, who was the Prefect of the Court in *Africa*, ſhould be his Enemy; and therefore to ſecure his paſſage thither from all ſuſpicion, he ſent to *Alexander* to deſire him, that he would ſend him his Son for an Hoſtage. For *Alexander* had a Son of a good bigneſs, and very perſonable. But he ſuſpecting that *Maxentius* did not deſire his Son, to make an Hoſtage of him, but to deceive him, he deny'd his requeſt. But after that, when *Maxentius* ſent other Agents to him to take him off by Stratagems and Wiles, the Plot was diſcover'd; and then the

Soldiers having gotten a good opportunity to rebel, conferr'd the Purple Robe upon *Alexander*, though he were not onely a *Phrygian* born, but a fearful, cowardly man, and one that was unfit for any difficult undertaking, besides his being Old.

At that time there happen'd a fire at *Rome* (whether it came out of the Air, or the Earth, is uncertain) which caught in the Temple of *Fortune*; and whilst the People ran together to put it out, a certain Soldier that was there speaking blasphemy against the Goddess, the Commonalty kill'd him out of their zeal: which caus'd a mutiny among the Soldiers, who were like to have destroy'd the whole City, had not *Maxentius* soon appeased their fury.

After these things *Maxentius* sought all occasions to wage a War with *Constantinus*; and pretending grief for his Fathers death, which *Constantinus* was the cause of, he design'd to go toward *Rhetia*, which is near both to *Gallia* and *Illyricum* too. For he dream'd that he should subdue *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum* by the assistance of the Generals in those parts, and with the help of *Licinnius*'s Army. But though he had these Affairs in his thoughts, yet he conceiv'd it was better for him

to

to ſettle matters in *Africa* firſt. Whereupon having raiſed an Army of men, and made *Rufius Volusianus*, Prefect of the Court, their General, he ſent 'em into *Africa*; but ſent *Zena* alſo, along with *Rufius*, who was a Perſon not onely well skill'd in Military Affairs, but alſo cry'd up for an extraordinary affable, courteous man. And upon the firſt Onſet *Alexanders* men gave way toward another body of Soldiers, to whom they and *Alexander* at laſt ran away together: nor did that other Party go off unconquer'd by the Enemy, or he himſelf either, for he was taken and ſtrangled.

The War being thus ended, there was room enough for Sycophants or Informers to impeach (I had almoſt ſaid) all the men of *Africa*, who were either of good Families or Eſtates, as friends of *Alexander:* nor were they any of 'em ſpared, but ſome of them were put to death, and others loſt all they had. And after that he triumph'd at *Rome* for the miſchief which was done at *Carthage*.— Now this was the ſtate of *Maxentius*'s Affairs, who did what I have told you, behaving himſelf like a Lecher and a Tyrant to all the Inhabitants of *Italy* and even *Rome* it ſelf.

In

In the mean time *Conſtantinus* who had ſuſpected him long before, was then much more inclined to fight him; therefore when he had raiſed an Army out of the *Barbarians*, *Germans* and *Celtæ* whom he had conquer'd, and gotten ſome out of *England* too, to the number of 90000 foot and 8000 Horſe in all, he march'd from the *Alps* into *Italy*, and thoſe Towns that ſurrender'd, he paſs'd without doing 'em any damage, but thoſe that ſtood out he took by ſtorm. But whilſt he proceeded thus, *Maxentius* had muſter'd up a far ſtronger Army; for he had eighty thouſand *Romans* and *Italians*, all the *Tuſcanes* upon the Sea-coaſt, and forty thouſand men from *Carthage*, beſides what the *Sicilians* ſent him; inſomuch that his whole Army conſiſted of 170000 foot and 18000 Horſe.

When they were both ſo provided, *Maxentius* made a Bridg over the *Tiber*, which was not all of a piece from one ſide to the other but divided into two parts, ſo that in the middle of the River, that which fill'd up the middle of the Bridg was made to faſten with iron Buttons, as it were, which might be drawn back as oft as a man had a mind to disjoyn it. And he gave the Workmen Order, that as ſoon as ever they ſaw *Conſtantine's*

ſtantine's Army upon the juncture of the Bridg, that they ſhould draw back the Buttons and diſſolve the Bridg, ſo that the Enemy who ſtood upon it might fall into the River. And this *Maxentius* deviſed.

But *Conſtantinus* marching on with his Army to *Rome* he pitch'd his Camp in a field before the City, that is broad and therefore convenient for Horſemen. Whilſt in the mean time *Maxentius* ſhut himſelf up within the Walls and ſacrificed to the Gods, beſides that he conſulted the Soothſayers and the *Sibylline* Oracles too about the event of the War. And finding a Prediction, that ſaid, Whoever Deſign'd any harm to the *Romans*, ſhould die a miſerable Death, he took it upon himſelf, becauſe he kept out thoſe that came againſt *Rome*, and would have fain taken it. And indeed it prov'd true. For when *Maxentius* brought forth his Army before *Rome*, and was going over the Bridg that himſelf had made, an infinite number of Owls flew down and cover'd the Wall. Which when *Conſtantinus* ſaw, he bad his men ſtand to their Arms. And as the two Armies ſtood one againſt the other, *Conſtantine* ſent in his Horſe upon that of the Enemy: who made ſuch a briſk attaque that they routed 'em. And when the

fight

ſign was given to the Foot, they likewiſe march'd in good order toward the Enemy. And having engaged in a ſmart Battel; the *Romans* themſelves and their Allies out of *Italy* were very loth to hazard themſelves, becauſe they wiſh'd to be deliver'd from that bitter Tyranny which they were then under: though the other Soldiers were ſlain in great numbers, being either trod to pieces by the Horſe, or kill'd by the Foot. For, though as long as the Horſe ſtood their ground, *Maxentius* had ſome hopes, yet when they gave way, he ran along with the reſt over a Bridg into the City. But the Rafters being not ſtrong enough to bear ſo great a weight, they broke, ſo that *Maxentius* and all the others were carry'd by the ſtream down the River.

When the news of this Victory came into the City, no man durſt ſhew any joy for what was done, becauſe ſome thought the report was falſe. But when *Maxentius*'s head was brought in upon a Spear, they turn'd their fear and dejection into all joy and pleaſure. And upon this occaſion *Conſtantinus* puniſh'd but very few and they were ſome of *Maxentius*'s beſt Friends; but he took off all the *Prætorian* Soldiers and demoliſh'd the Forts where they uſed to keep. At laſt when he had

ſetled

ſetled all things in the City, he went toward *Gallia Celtica*. But by the way he ſent for *Licinnius* to *Millain* and gave him his Siſter *Conſtantia* in marriage, whom he had promiſed him formerly, when he had a mind to make him joyn with him againſt *Maxentius*; And when that Solemnity was over, *Conſtantine* march'd on toward the *Celtæ*. Nor was it long before the Civil Wars broke out between *Licinnius* and *Maximianus*, who had a ſharp engagement in *Illyricum*, wherein at firſt *Licinnius* ſeemed to have the worſt of it; but preſently afterward he rallied again, and put *Maximianus* to the run: Who travelling through the Eaſt into *Egypt*, in hopes to get men enough to renew the War, he died at *Tarſus*.

The Empire being thus devolv'd upon *Conſtantine* and *Licinnius*, they two in a little time fell out: not that *Licinnius* gave any occaſion for it, but *Conſtantine*, as he uſed to do, ſhew'd himſelf unfaithful in what he had agreed to, by his endeavour to alienate ſome Nations that belong'd to *Licinnius*'s Dominions. And by that means they broke out into an open quarrel, and both prepared their Armies for a fight. *Licinnius* made his Rendezvouz at *Cibalis*, which is a City of *Pannonia*, lying upon an Hill: to which the way

way is ſteep and narrow, and five furlongs in breadth. In which Road or Avenue there is a deep Fenn that lies very near the greateſt part of it; and the reſt of it is mountainous, wherein there is an hillock, upon which the City ſtands. But from thence there is a ſpacious Plain, which entertains the Eye with an infinite Proſpect. Now upon this did *Licinnius* encamp, and ſpread the body of his Army all along under the Hill, leſt he ſhould ſeem too weak for the Enemy, in the Wings. And *Conſtantine* in the mean time drew up his men near the Mountain, placing the Horſe in the Front. For he thought that the beſt way, leſt the Enemy ſhould fall upon the Foot, who moved but ſlowly, and hinder their marching forward.—When he had ſo done, he preſently made the attaque, gave the ſignal and went againſt the Enemies. And ſo the fight began, which was the fierceſt (I had almoſt ſaid) that ever was. For when each ſide had ſhot their Darts, they fought a long time with Spears and Javelins; and after they had fought from Morning to Night, the right Wing, which *Conſtantine* commanded, had the better on't. And thereupon the Enemy being put to flight, *Licinnius*'s men, when they ſaw him mounted, and ready to run away,

way, durſt not ſtay to eat their Suppers; but leſt their Cattel and all their other proviſions behind: onely they took as much Victuals as would ſatisfie their hunger for one Night, and ſo march'd along with *Licinnius* in all haſte to *Sirmium*; which is a City of *Pannonia*, by which there runs a River on both ſides of it, and diſcharges it ſelf into the *Iſter*. And as he paſſed this Town, he broke down the Bridg over the River, and ſo march'd on, with an intention to raiſe men in *Thrace*.

When *Conſtantinus* had taken *Cibalis*, and *Sirmium*, and all the other Towns that *Licinnius* ran away from, he ſent five thouſand men in purſuit of him. But they being ignorant what way he took, could not overtake him. Yet *Conſtantinus* having re-built the Bridg over *Saus*, which *Licinnius* had broken down, was with his Army almoſt at his heels. And when he was got over into *Thrace*, he arrived at the Plain where *Licinnius* lay encamp'd. Where, the ſame Night that he came, he marſhall'd his Army and gave Orders, that his Soldiers ſhould be ready to fight as ſoon as it was Day. But when it was light, *Licinnius*, ſeeing *Conſtantinus* with his Army, put his men alſo in array, having *Valens*, whom he ſtiled

ſtiled *Ceſar* for his Ally, ever ſince he fled from *Cibalis*. And when the two Armies engaged, they firſt fought with Bows at a diſtance: but when their Arrows were ſpent, they fell on with Javelins and Ponyards. So that the fight continued very fierce for a good while, till thoſe whom *Conſtantinus* had ſent to purſue *Licinnius*, came down from a riſing ground upon the Armies whilſt they were at it. But they wheeled about an Hill, before they got to them, becauſe they thought it beſt to joyn their own Party from the higher ground, and ſo begird the Enemy. But *Licinnius*'s men were aware of 'em, and fought it out bravely againſt 'em all; ſo that many thouſands were ſlain on both ſides, and the Battel was equal, till the ſign was given for 'em both to draw off.

The next Day they made a Truce, and thought fit to enter into League and Alliance one with the other; upon Condition, that *Conſtantinus* ſhould have the Government of *Illyricum*, and all the Nations beyond it, and *Licinnius* ſhould have *Thrace*, the Eaſt, and all beyond that: but that *Valens*, whom *Licinnius* had made *Ceſar*, ſhould be put to Death, becauſe (I ſuppoſe) he was ſaid to be the author of all the miſchief which had happen'd.

happen'd. Which when they had done, and taken Oaths on both ſides to obſerve thoſe Conditions, to make the Obligation of keeping their promiſes the ſtronger, *Conſtantinus* made *Criſpus* (his Son by a Concubine called *Minervina*) who was yet but a Youth; and alſo *Conſtantinus*, who was born but a few days before at *Arelatum*, *Cæſars*. And at the ſame time *Licinnianus*, Son to *Licinnius*, who was twenty years of Age, was declared *Cæſar*. And this was the end of the ſecond War.

But when *Conſtantinus* heard, that the *Sauromatæ*, who lived upon the Fenn, *Meotis*, had paſs'd the *Iſther* in Boats, and pillaged his Territories, he led his Army againſt 'em. And the *Barbarians* on the other hand met him, with their King *Rauſimodus*; and firſt the *Sauromatæ* attaqued a Town, which had a ſufficient Gariſon in it, but the Wall of it was built partly of ſtone (from the ground upward) and partly (toward the top) of Wood. Wherefore the *Sauromatæ* thought they might eaſily take the Town, if they burnt all the wooden part of the Wall; and to that end put fire to it, whilſt, in the mean time, they ſhot at thoſe that ſtood upon the Walls. But they that were upon the Walls threw Darts and ſtones down upon

the *Barbarians* and kill'd 'em; ſo that when *Conſtantinus* came, and fell upon 'em from an higher ground, he ſlew many of 'em, took more alive, and put the reſt to flight. Upon which occaſion *Rauſimodus* having loſt moſt part of his Army, took ſhipping and croſs'd the *Iſter*, with an intention once more to plunder the *Roman* Dominions. Which when *Conſtantinus* heard of, he follow'd him over the *Iſter*, and ſet upon 'em in a thick Wood upon an Hill to which they were fled, where he kill'd many of 'em, among whom *Rauſimodus* was one. But he alſo took many alive, and gave quarter to the reſt that were willing to comply; ſo that he return'd to the Head-quarters with a great number of Captives.

But he diſtributed them into the ſeveral Cities, and then came to *Theſſalonica*, where having made a Port or Harbour (for there never was one in that place before) he made new preparations for a War againſt *Licinnius*. In order whereunto he fitted out two hundred Ships or Galleys of War with thirty Oars apiece, beſides above two thouſand Ships of burthen, rais'd one hundred and twenty thouſand Foot, and of Horſemen and Seamen ten thouſand. *Licinnius* hearing that *Conſtantinus* was ſo well prepar'd, ſent Meſſengers

ſengers into all Nations, to command 'em to prepare a ſufficient number of men for the Navy, beſides their Horſe and Foot. And thereupon the *Egyptians* immediately ſent out eighty Galleys; the *Phœnicians*, as many more; and the *Jonians* and *Dorians* of *Aſia*, ſixty: the *Cyprians*, thirty, the *Carians*, twenty, the *Bythinians*, thirty, and the *Africans*, fifty. And of Foot Soldiers he had near 150000. but of Horſe onely 15000. which were ſent him out of *Phrygia* and *Cappadocia*. Now *Conſtantine*'s Ships lay at *Piræus*, and *Licinnius*'s in the *Helleſpont*. And when they had both thus ſetled the Affairs of their Sea and their Land Forces, *Licinnius* was encamp'd at *Adrianople* in *Thrace*; whilſt *Conſtantinus* ſent for his Navy from *Piræeus*, which was built and man'd, for the moſt part, out of *Greece*. And marching with his Foot Army from *Theſſalonica*, he encamped upon the bank of the River *Hebrus*, which runs by *Adrianople* on the left hand. And at the ſame time *Licinnius* ſet his men in Battalia from a Mountain which is above the Town the length of two hundred furlongs, even to that place where another River joyns with the *Hebrus*, and ſo the Armies continued one againſt another for many days. But *Conſtantinus* obſerving where the River was

narroweſt, he found out this contrivance. He order'd his Soldiers to bring Trees from the Mountain, and tie Ropes about 'em, as if he deſign'd to make a Bridg upon the River, whereby to get over his Army. With which invention he outwitted his Enemies, and going up into an Hill, where there were thick Woods, enough to hide any body that was in 'em, he planted there of foot Bowmen five thouſand, and eight hundred Horſe. And having ſo done, he took twelve Horſemen, and with them marching over the *Hebrus* in the narrow place, where it is moſt fordable, he ſurpriſed the Enemy; inſomuch that ſome were kill'd and many fled as faſt as they could, whilſt others who were amazed at his unexpected approach, ſtood gaping with Wonder, how he ſhould come ſo ſuddenly over. But in the mean time whilſt the Horſe, and the reſt of the Army paſs'd the River for ſecurity, there was a great ſlaughter among 'em. For there fell near thirty four thouſand men; and about Sunſet *Conſtantine* took their Camp, whilſt *Licinnius* with all his Forces that he could muſter up, haſten'd through *Thrace* to his Navy.

As ſoon as it was Day, all *Licinnius*'s Army, or as many of 'em, as had fled into the Mountain, or the Valleys thereabout,

bout, ſurrendered themſelves to *Conſtantinus*, together with thoſe that *Licinnius*, for haſte, had left behind him. But when *Licinnius* was got to *Bizantium*, *Conſtantinus* follow'd him, and beſieged the City, when his Navy was now come from *Piræeus* (as I told you) and lay in *Macedonia*. Wherefore he ſent to his Admirals, and order'd that the Ships ſhould ſail into the *Helleſpont*. And when they came, according to his command, *Conſtantinus*'s Sea Officers thought fit to engage with not above eighty of their beſt Sailers (which were Galleys of thirty Oars apiece) becauſe the place was too narrow to receive a greater number. But *Abantus*, who was *Licinnius*'s Admiral, ſet out with two hundred Ships, and deſpiſed the ſmalneſs of his Enemies number, whom he thought he could eaſily ſurround. But when the Signals were given on both ſides, and they came ſtem to ſtem; *Conſtantinus*'s Seamen did manage their Ships ſo as to engage in very good order. But *Abantus* ſailing without any method againſt the Enemy, his Ships being in ſuch a ſtraight place fell foul upon one another, and were expoſed in ſome meaſure to the Enemy, partly to be drown'd and partly to be otherwiſe deſtroy'd. In

fine, a great many men were thrown overboard, till night came and put an end to the fight. So the one Navy put in at *Eleus* in *Thrace*, and the other at the *Æantian* Harbour. And the next Day whilſt the Wind blew hard at North, *Abantus* put forth from the *Æantian* Port and made ready for a Sea fight. But becauſe thoſe Galleys of fifty Oars apiece, which lay in the mouth of the *Helleſpont*, were come to *Eleus* by Order of the Admirals, *Abantus* was affrighted at the number of Ships and ſtood debating, whether he ſhould ſet Sail againſt the Enemy or no. But about Noon the North-Wind was allay'd, and the South-Wind blew ſo violently, that when *Licinnius*'s Navy lay upon the *Aſian* Coaſt, it ran ſome on ground, bilg'd ſome againſt the Rocks, and ſunk others, men and all: ſo that five thouſand men were loſt, beſides one hundred and thirty Ships full of men, which *Licinnius* had ſent out of *Thrace* into *Aſia* with part of his Army, becauſe *Bizantium* was too little to contain all thoſe who were beſieged with *Licinnius*. But when *Licinnius* was fled into *Aſia* with four Ships and the Sea fight was thus at an end: as alſo, that the Ships were come into the *Helleſpont*, and had brought all

ſorts

ſorts of Commodities, and great ſtore of proviſions to *Conſtantine*'s Officers, they weigh'd Anchor with the whole Navy, to go and join with thoſe that beſieged *Bizantium*, and incloſe the City even by Sea alſo. But *Licinnius*'s Foot were not able to endure ſo much as the very ſight of ſuch a Navy, and therefore got 'em Ships and ſailed away for *Eleus*.

In the mean time *Conſtantine* continu'd cloſe at the Siege, and made a Mound as high as the Wall (upon which he planted Wooden Towers, higher than the Wall, from which his Soldiers ſhot thoſe who defended the Wall) that he might with more ſecurity bring Rams and other Engines of War near to it, and by that means he thought ſure enough to take the City. At which *Licinnius* being ſtartled and not knowing what to think, he reſolv'd to leave *Bizantium* and the weaker part of his Army in it, and onely take along with him ſuch men as were fit for ſervice, and had given him demonſtrations of their love to him, and ſo make what haſte he could into *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*. For he believ'd he might raiſe an Army in *Aſia* and try another Engagement with his Enemies. Wherefore arriving at *Chalcedon*, and having made *Martinianus* who was Captain of

the Court-Guards (whom the *Romans* call *Magiſter Officiorum*) his Accomplice and Partner in the dangerous Enterpriſe, he declared him *Cæſar* and ſent him with an Army to *Lampſacus*, to hinder the Enemies paſſage from *Thrace* into *Helleſpont*, whilſt he himſelf poſted his own men upon the Hills, and Avenues about *Chalcedon*.

And whilſt *Licinnius* was intent upon theſe matters, *Conſtantine* who had a great number of Ships for burthen as well as War, and had a mind with them to croſs over and poſſeſs himſelf of the other ſhore, fearing leſt the *Bithynian* Coaſt might be inacceſſible to Ships of burthen eſpecially, he immediatey built Skiffs and other Boats, and with them he ſailed to the holy *Promontory*, as they call it, which lies upon the mouth of *Pontus*, two hundred furlongs from *Chalcedon*. And there he landed his Army; which when he had done, he went upon certain Hills hard by to ſet 'em in Array. At which time *Licinnius*, though he ſaw that *Bithynia* was already in the Enemies hands, yet was a man ſo harden'd by Danger that he ſent for *Martinianus* from *Lampſacus*, and to encourage his men to fight, told 'em he himſelf would lead 'em. And when he had ſaid what he thought neceſſary to

'em,

'em, he drew 'em into Battalia, and marching out of the City he met the Enemy who were ready for him. And after a ſharpe Engagement between *Chalcedon* and the *Holy Promontory*, *Conſtantines* ſide had much the better on't; for they fell upon the Enemy with ſuch vigour and made ſuch a ſlaughter of 'em, that of an hundred and thirty thouſand men, ſcarce thirty thouſand eſcaped. Which when the *Bizantines* heard of, immediately they threw open their Gates to receive *Conſtantinus*, as the *Chalcedonians* alſo did. But *Licinnius* having receiv'd this Overthrow went for *Nicomedia* with what Horſe he had left him, and ſome few Thouſands of Foot.

Juſt at this time a certain *Perſian* called *Hormiſdas*, of the Royal Family, came over to *Conſtantine* for refuge upon this account. —— His Father had been King of *Perſia*, and on a time was celebrating his own Birth-day after the *Perſian* way, when *Hormiſdas* came into the Palace and brought with him a great deal of Veniſon. But the Gueſts that were at the Feaſt not riſing up and paying him the reſpect and honour due to him, he was very angry and told 'em, he would puniſh 'em with *Marſyas*'s Death. Which ſaying a great many of 'em did not underſtand,

derſtand, becauſe it related to a Forein Story: but onely one *Perſian* among 'em, who had lived in *Phrygia*, and heard the ſtory of *Marſyas*, explain'd the meaning of *Hormiſdas*'s Menace to 'em, as they ſate at Table. Wherefore they laid up *Hormiſdas*'s Menace in their memories, and when his Father happened to die, they remember'd what he had threaten'd, and ſo choſe his younger Brother King, though the elder ſhould have had the preference according to Law above all the Kings Children: Nor only that; but they ſhackled *Hormiſdas* and kept him upon a certain Hill which lies before the City. But when ſome time had paſs'd, his Wife contrived his eſcape in this manner. She got a great Fiſh, and put a File into his belly, and then ſolving him up again deliver'd it to the moſt faithful Eunuch that ſhe had, with a ſtrict charge to tell *Hormiſdas*, he muſt eat that Fiſh when no body was by, and uſe that which he found in his belly in order to his eſcape. And when ſhe had thus contrived it, ſhe ſent out ſeveral Camels loaden with Wine, and a deal of Proviſion, to entertain her Husbands Keepers. And whilſt the Keepers were merry at the Feaſt which ſhe made for 'em; *Hormiſdas* cut up the Fiſh and found the File; with which when he had

had cut off the ſhackles that were upon his Legs, he put on the Eunuchs Robe and went away through the middle of the Keepers, who were by that time Drunk; and taking one of the Eunuchs along with him he fled to the King of *Armenia* who was his Friend and Hoſt. And by this means he got away ſafe to *Conſtantine*, who thought fit to ſhew him all the reſpect and kindneſs imaginable. And ſo much for that.

But when *Conſtantinus* beſieged *Licinnius* at *Nicomedia* alſo, he knew not what to do, becauſe he was ſenſible he had not an Army fit to fight, and therefore going out of the City, he ſubmitted himſelf to *Conſtantine* and brought him the Purple Robe, proclaimed him Emperor and Lord, and ask'd pardon for what was paſt. For he preſumed he ſhould certainly eſcape with life, becauſe *Conſtantinus* had ſworn to his Wife that he ſhould. But *Conſtantinus* deliver'd *Martinianus* to the Guards for them to kill, and ſent *Licinnius* into *Theſſalonica*, as if he were to live there in ſecurity; but not long after he broke his Oath (which * was an uſual thing with *Conſtantine*) and caus'd him to be hang'd.

* — If all be true that others ſay of *Conſtantine*, then *Zoſimus* has no reaſon to fix the Crime of Perjury upon him; becauſe he did not ſeem ſo much to break an Oath and Promiſe, as to

But

to punish the breach of it in *Licinius*, who after so many Victories gain'd by *Constantine*, when he was in a desperate low Condition, let slip no occasion to recover that Empire which he was deprived of by the just sentence of Victory, but contrived all ways he could to make ill returns for *Eusebius*'s kindness, as *Euseb.* says in his life of *Constantine*, l. 1. c. 43. & *Theodor.* l. 1. c. 7. To which you may add this also, that *Licinius* hated Christians, as much as *Constantine* loved 'em, and consequently could not endure to see them expos'd to Injuries whom he favour'd. Nor let any one Object, that these Authors are not to be credited, because they were partial; because *Zosimus* himself cannot be excus'd in that Point, as being a sworn Enemy to Christianity, and a great bigot in the Heathenish Religion.

But when the whole Empire was solely in *Constantine*'s hands, he no longer concealed his ill Nature, and vicious inclinations, but did what he pleas'd without controul. But he used indeed his former Country way of Worship, though not * out of honour or veneration so much as necessity. And therefore he believed the Soothsayers, who were expert in their Art, as men that had told him truth concerning all the great Actions that ever he did. But when he came to *Rome*, he was full of Pride and Arrogance, but thought fit to begin his impious pranks first at home. For he kill'd his Son *Crispus*, stiled (as I told you) *Cæsar*, upon suspicion that he lay with

* Among the Imperial Laws or Edicts this is one which *Euseb.* mentions, *l.* 10. *c.* 5. — That every one may apply himself to what way of Worship he thinks suitable to his own reason. — And therefore though he did not abolish the old Heathen Ceremonies of his Country at that time, yet he favour'd the Christians most, and gave 'em their liberty which almost all other Emperors before him had used to deprive 'em of.

with his Mother-in law *Fauſta*, without any conſideration of natural Duty. And when his Mother *Helena* expreſs'd much ſorrow for what he had done, lamenting moſt bitterly the young mans Death, *Conſtantinus*, under pretence of comforting her, made the Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe. For having cauſed a Bath to be heated more than ordinary, and ſhut *Fauſta* up in it, he in a while after took her out dead. Of which being conſcious to himſelf, as alſo of breaking his Oath, he went to the Prieſts to be purg'd from his Crimes. But they told him there was no manner of Luſtration or Purgation that was ſufficient to clear him from ſuch enormities; and then a *Spaniard*, called *Ægyptius*, who was there at *Rome*, very familiar with the Court Ladies, coming to diſcourſe with *Conſtantine*, aſſur'd him, that the Chriſtian Doctrine would teach him how to cleanſe himſelf from all his offences; and would promiſe him, that all wicked men who receiv'd it, were immediately abſolv'd from all their ſins. Which *Conſtantine* had no ſooner heard, but he eaſily believ'd what was told him, and leaving his own Country Ceremonies, receiv'd thoſe that *Ægyptius* offer'd to him, and for the firſt inſtance of his Impiety he ſuſpected the truth

of

of Divination. For since a great many fortunate Chances were thereby foretold him, and really came to pass according to the Prediction, he was afraid, lest that others might be told one thing or other that should fall out unluckily to him; and for that reason apply'd himself toward the abolishing of all such things. And upon an usual Feast-day when the Army was to go up into the Capitol, he reproach'd that Solemnity of their going up very impudently; and treading the holy Ceremonies, as it were, under his feet, incurr'd the hatred of the Senate and People.

But being unable to endure the Curses of almost all the City, he look'd out for another City as big as *Rome*, where he might build himself a Palace; and therefore when he was between *Troas* and old *Ilium*, he found a place convenient to build a City in, where he laid a foundation, and made some part of a Wall to a pretty heighth, which is to be seen to this Day by those that sail toward the *Hellespont*. But afterward thinking better of it, he left that Work unfinish'd and went to *Byzantium*; where he admired the situation of the place, and therefore resolv'd when he had enlarged it exceedingly, to make it a fit Seat for an Emperor to live

live in. For the City lies upon a riſing ground, which is part of that *Iſthmus*, which *Ceras* and *Propontis*, two arms of the Sea on each ſide incloſe. And it formerly had a Gate juſt at the end of the *Porticos* which *Severus* the Emperor built after he was reconciled to the *Byzantines*, who had provoked his anger by admitting his Enemy *Niger* into their City. At which time alſo the Wall went down from the Weſt ſide of the Hill as far as *Venus*'s Temple, even to the Sea ſide, which is oppoſite to *Chryſopolis*. And ſo, on the North ſide of the Hill it went down after the ſame manner to the Port, which they call the *Dock*, and farther even to the Sea-ſide, which lies directly againſt the paſſage that carries yon into the *Euxine* Sea. And this narrow neck of Land between that and *Pontus* is near three hundred furlongs in length. And this was the bigneſs of the old City. But *Conſtantinus* built a round Market-place where the old Gate was, and encompaſſed it with *double-roofed Porticoes*, making two great Arches of *Præconeſian* Marble one againſt another, through which there was a paſſage into *Severus*'s Porticoes, and out of the old City. But having a mind to make the City a great deal larger, he made a Wall about it that was

fifteen

fifteen furlongs beyond the old one, and took in all the *Iſthmus* from Sea to Sea. And when he had made the City in this manner much larger than before, he built a Palace not much inferiour to that of *Rome*: and made likewiſe the *Hippodrome* (where the Horſes ran) very fine: taking the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* into it, whoſe Statues are now to be ſeen ſtanding in the Porticoes of the *Hippodrome*, or Horſe-Race. Beſides which he likewiſe placed the *Tripos*, that belong'd to *Apollo* of *Delphi*, in one part of the *Hippodrome*, which had on it the Image of *Apollo* himſelf. And becauſe there was a very great Market-place at *Bizantium* conſiſting of four Porticoes, at the end of one of them, to which there are a great many ſteps going up, he built two Temples, and in the one of 'em he put the Statue of the Mother of the Gods, called *Rhea*, which *Jaſon*'s Mates had formerly ſet up in Mount *Dindymus*, which lies about the City of *Cyzicum*. But they ſay, that through his neglect of Religion he had impair'd it, by taking away the Lions on both ſides, and changing the figure of the Hands. For whereas it formerly ſeemed to have a Lion in each hand, it was now alter'd into a praying poſture, looking upon the City and obſerving,

ſerving as it were, what men did: In the other Temple he ſet up the Statue of *Romes* Fortune. And after that he built convenient Houſes for certain Senators that follow'd him from *Rome*. But he engaged in no more War, inſomuch that when the *Thaifalians*, which are a *Scythian* Nation, came upon him with five hundred Horſe, he did not onely not lead forth his Army againſt 'em, but when he had loſt the greater part of his Soldiers, and ſaw the Enemies plunder all before 'em even to their Trenches, he was glad to ſave himſelf by flight.

But when he was deliver'd from the diſtractions of War he gave himſelf to voluptuouſneſs, but diſtributed a Dole of Corn among the people of *Bizantium*, which is continu'd even to this Day. And as he laid out the publick Treaſure upon unneceſſary and unprofitable Structures, ſo he built ſome, that in a ſhort time were pull'd down again, becauſe they were erected in haſte and conſequently not like to laſt long. He alſo made a great buſtle and changed the ancient Magiſtracy. For whereas before that time there had been two Prefects of the Court, whoſe power was equal, not only the Court-Soldiers were under their care and conduct, but thoſe alſo who had the charge

of the City with them that lay in the outparts. For he that had the Office of Court-Prefect, which was esteemed the greatest place of Honour next being Emperor; gave out the Doles of Corn, and corrected all Offences in point of military Discipline with what convenient Penalties he thought good.

But *Constantine* alter'd that good Constitution, and out of one Office, or Magistracy he made four of it. For to one of those Prefects he committed all *Egypt* and *Pentapolis* in *Libya*, besides all the East as far as *Mesopotamia*, with *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Armenia*, and all the Seacoast from *Pamphilia* to *Trapezus* and the Castles near *Phasis*: and to the same person was given all *Thrace* and *Mysia* which reaches as far as *Hemus*, *Rodope*, and the Town of *Doberus*. He likewise added *Cyprus*, and the *Cyclades* (Islands) onely *Lemnos*, and *Imbrus*, and *Samothrace* were excepted. — To another he gave *Macedonia*, *Thessaly*, *Crete* and *Greece* with the Islands thereabout, both *Epiruses*, the *Illyrians*, the *Dacians*, the *Triballi* and the *Pannonians* as far as *Valeria*, besides the upper *Mysia*. — To the third Prefect he gave all *Italy*, and *Sicily* with the adjacent Isles, besides *Sardinia* and *Corsica* together with all *Africa* from the *Syrtes* or

Quick-

Quick-ſands as far as *Cyrene*. To the fourth he committed the *Celtæ*, who lived beyond the *Alps*, as alſo the *Spaniards* and the Britiſh Iſland which is *England*. And * having thus divided the Power of thoſe Prefects, he ſtudied other ways alſo to leſſen their Authority. For whereas there uſed to be in all places Centurions, Tribunes, and Generals, he made certain Officers called *Magiſtri Militum*, one over the Horſe, and another over the Foot, to whom he gave Authority to Diſcipline the Soldiers, and puniſh thoſe that offended, whereby the power of the Prefects was in ſome meaſure diminiſh'd. Now that this was a great damage to the publick Affairs both in Peace and War, I'll prove immediately. For whilſt the Prefects gather'd the Tributes in all places by their Miniſters and laid them out in Warlike expences, having the Soldiers alſo in ſubjection, who ſuffer'd for offences according to their diſcretion

* *Zoſimus* throws the envy of that inſenſible decay by which the *Roman* Empire fell to ruin upon *Conſtantine*; but indeed he ought to have been more cautious in what he ſaid; if he would but have conſider'd with himſelf how apt men are, who have gain'd the greateſt place next to their Sovereign, to endeavour all they can to engage the Soldiers affections, and out of hopes to be Emperors themſelves to put all things out of order. And indeed where the care of both the Military Diſcipline, and diſtributing the publick money is committed to one ſingle perſon, 'tis odds, but he one time or other takes an occaſion to poſſeſs himſelf of the Empire, becauſe he has every thing in his power that the fear of puniſhment or hopes of reward will induce the Soldiers to do. Wherefore *Conſtantine* fortified himſelf with that political ſaying, *Divide and Rule*.

ſcretion, it's very probable the Soldiers who conſider'd that the ſame perſon who gave 'em their pay, inflicted their puniſhment too whenever they offended, durſt not do contrary to their Duty, out of fear, partly, leſt their allowance ſhould be taken off, and partly of preſent correction. But now ſince one is Paymaſter, and another to look after the Diſcipline, they do what they pleaſe; not to ſay, that the greateſt part of the Corn or other proviſions goes into the General's or his Servants Pockets.

But beſides this *Conſtantine* did another thing too, that gave the *Barbarians* a free paſſage into the *Roman* Dominions. For whereas the *Roman* Empire, by the care of *Diocletian* was fortified (as I told you) in the moſt remote parts of it with Towns and Caſtles and Forts, where the Soldiers lived, and conſequently it was impoſſible for the *Barbarians* to paſs, becauſe there was always a ſufficient number of Enemies to withſtand 'em; *Conſtantine* deſtroy'd that Security, by removing the greater part of the Soldiers out of thoſe Frontier Places, and putting them in Towns that wanted no aſſiſtance. For he ſtrip'd them whom the *Barbarians* oppreſſed of all defence, and plagu'd the Towns that were quiet with a multitude of Soldiers, inſo-

inſomuch that ſome were quite forſaken of their Inhabitants. He likewiſe cauſed his Soldiers to grow effeminate by giving themſelves to publick Shows and Pleaſures. And to tell you plainly, he was the firſt cauſe, why things were brought into that miſerable ſtate they now are in.

But I muſt not omit to tell you, that when he had given his Son *Conſtantinus*, as likewiſe his other two Sons, *Conſtantius* and *Conſtans* the Title of *Cæſars*, he encreaſed the City of *Conſtantinople* to ſuch a vaſt bigneſs, that many of the Emperors that have come after him, and lived in it, have drawn more men thither than are neceſſary, who flock to it from all parts, either as Soldiers, or Merchants, or ſomething elſe. Upon which account they have made the Walls about it more capacious than thoſe that *Conſtantine* built, and have permitted the buildings to be ſo contiguous, that the Inhabitants whether at home or in the ſtreets are ſtreighten'd for room, and walk in danger by reaſon of the multitude of men and beaſts. Beſides, a great deal of the Sea is turn'd into dry Land, where Piles are driven into the ground, and Houſes built upon 'em, enough to make a good big City of themſelves.

And truly I have often wondered, since the City of *Byzantium* is grown so great, that no other can compare with it either in happiness or bigness, why our Fathers had no prophesie concerning its good Fortune. And having employ'd my thoughts a long time about it, turn'd over a great many Historians and collections of Oracles, and spent some time in the explanation of them. I at last with much ado light upon an Oracle, which is attributed to *Sibylla Erythræa*, or *Phaello* of *Epirus* (for they say that she being inspired gave out some Oracles, upon which *Nicomedes*, the Son of *Prusias* relying and interpreting to his own advantage, he by the advice of *Attalus*, made War against his Father *Prusias*) and it is this:

Thou among Sheep; Oh! King of Thrace,
(*shalt dwell,*
But breed a savage Lion, fierce and fell,
Who all the product of thy Land shall spoil,
And reap thy fruitful harvest without toil.
But thou shalt not enjoy thy Honour long,
Torn by wild Dogs, which shall about thee
(*throng,*
Then a mad, hungry, sleeping Wolf shalt
(*thou*
Awake, to whom thy conquer'd neck shall
(*bow.*

Next

Next a whole herd of Wolves Bythinias
(Land
Shall vex by Joves *permiſſion, and that*
(hand
To whom the Byzantines *Obedience yield*
Shall in ſhort time her royal Scepter weild.
Bleſs'd Helleſpont! *whoſe buildings by the*
(hand
Of Heaven were rais'd, and by their order
(ſtand.
Yet ſhall that cruel Wolf my forces fear,
For all Wights know me, who inhabit here.
My Sires mind I no longer will reveal
But Heavens intent in Oracles reveal.
Thrace *ſhall e're long a monſtrous birth pro-*
(duce,
Baneful to all by tract of time and uſe:
And a ſwoln Ulcer by the Sea ſhall grow,
Which when it breaks, with putrid gore
(ſhall flow.

Now this ſame Oracle does, though obſcurely, point out (I had almoſt ſaid) all the particular miſchiefs which were to befal *Bythinia* through the heavy Impoſitions that were laid upon 'em: as alſo how the Government was to be devolved upon them to whom the *Byzantines* were then in ſubjection, in that Diſtich

——— *and*

——— *and the Hand*
To whom the Byzantines *Obedience yield*
Shall in ſhort time her Royal Scepter weild.

And though the things foretold did not fall out till many Ages after; let not any man for all that ſuppoſe that it was ſpoken of any other place. For all time is ſhort in reſpect of God, who always is and always will be. And this is my conjecture both from the words of the Propheſie, and the event alſo. But if any one believes there is any other meaning in it, let him enjoy his own thoughts.

When *Conſtantine* had done thus, he not onely perpetually waſted the Revenue of the Empire in unneceſſary Expences, and Preſents, which were beſtow'd upon unworthy and vile Perſons: but he likewiſe oppreſſed thoſe that paid the Tribute, and enrich'd thoſe that were of no uſe or ſervice in the Government. For * he miſtook Prodigality for Magnificence.

* We muſt confeſs that *Conſtantine* was extravagant in his Expences; from whence aroſe that Jeer of *Julian* in his Book called *Ceſares*, where he brings in *Conſtantine* as if he were ask'd by *Mercury*— And what do you think is a commendable thing? That a Man, ſays *Conſtantine*, who has a great deal ſhould give a great deal away.

He alſo laid a Tax of Gold and Silver upon all Merchants, and Tradeſmen even to the

the meaneſt of all: * nor did he ſpare ſo much as the pooreſt Whore. Inſomuch that upon the return of every fourth year, when the Tax was to be paid, a man could hear nothing but lamentation and complaints through all the whole City. And when the time came, there was nothing but Whips and Torments provided for them who by reaſon of their extream poverty could not pay the money. Nay, Mothers were fain to part with their Children, and Fathers to proſtitute their Daughters, for money to ſatisfie the Collectors of this Gold and Silver exaction. And becauſe he had a mind to invent ſome plague for the richer ſort of People, he call'd 'em all forth and made 'em Prætors, for which Dignity he demanded of 'em a vaſt ſum of money. For which reaſon, when they whoſe buſineſs it was to manage this Affair came into any of the Cities, you might ſee the People run all away into other Countreys, for fear of gaining that honour with the loſs of all they had. Now he had a Particular of all the beſt Eſtates, and ſo impoſed a Tribute upon each one of 'em, which he called

* See *Evagrius l.* 3. *Hiſt. Eccl. c.* 39. where he mightily commends *Anaſtaſius*, in whoſe Reign this Tax was taken off. But he inveighs againſt *Zoſimus*, for ſaying that *Conſtantine* was the Author of it, in theſe words:——Who would wonder that this ſhould be done in the very infancy of Chriſtianity, when his Holineſs the Pope ſuffers the very ſame things even now it is grown to riper years?

led, *a Purse*. And with such Exactions he exhausted all the Towns: for they endur'd so long even after *Constantine*'s time, that the Money was all drain'd clear out of the Cities and many of 'em forsaken by the Inhabitants.

When *Constantine* had oppress'd and plagued the Government all these several ways, he died of a Distemper, and his Sons succeeded him who were three of 'em (not begotten of *Fausta* the Daughter of *Herculius Maximianus*, but of another Woman, whom he had put to Death for Adultery) but they devoted themselves to the pleasures of Youth more than to publick Service. For in the first place they divide the Nations among 'em, of which *Constantine* the eldest and *Constans* the youngest had all beyond the *Alps* together with *Italy* and *Illyricum*, for their share: as also all the Countreys upon the *Euxine* Sea, and whatever belong'd to *Carthage* in *Africa*: whereas *Constantius* had all *Asia*, the East and *Egypt*. But there were also others that were a kind of Partners in the Government, as *Dalmatius*, whom *Constantine* made *Cæsar*, *Constantius* his Brother and *Anaballianus*, who all wore a Purple Robe with golden Guards, and were promoted to the Order of *Nobilissimate* (as they call it) or Nobility

bility by *Conſtantine* himſelf, out of reſpect to their being of his Family.

But when the Empire was thus divided, *Conſtantius* who ſeemed to take pains not to fall ſhort of his Fathers impiety, began at home to prove himſelf a Man by ſpilling the blood of his neareſt Relations. And firſt he cauſed *Conſtantius* his Fathers Brother to be murther'd by the Soldiers: next to whom he ſerved *Dalmatius Cæſar* in the ſame kind; as alſo *Optatus*, whom *Conſtantine* had raiſed to the honour of being a Patrician. For *Conſtantine* indeed firſt introduced that Order of Men and made a Law, that whoever was a Patrician ſhould ſit above the very Prefects of the Court. At that time alſo was *Ablabius* the Court-Prefect put to death; and fate was juſt in his puniſhment, becauſe he contrived how to murther *Sopatrus* the Philoſopher, out of envy that he was ſo familiar with *Conſtantine*. But as he was unnatural to all his Relations, ſo likewiſe he put *Anaballianus* among the reſt, ſuborning the Soldiers to cry out, that they would have no other Governours but *Conſtantine's* Children onely. And theſe were *Conſtantius*'s exploits.

In

In the mean time *Conſtantine* and *Conſtans* had a diſpute concerning that part of *Africa* that belong'd to *Carthage*, and *Italy*. And *Conſtans* who had a mind to ſurpriſe his Brother, concealed his ill will for three years together, till on a certain time when he was got into a Province that loved him, he ſent Soldiers to him, upon pretence to aſſiſt him in the War againſt the *Perſians*, but in reality to aſſaſſinate him before he was aware: which accordingly they did, and ſo kill'd *Conſtantine*.

When *Conſtans* had thus removed his Brother out of his way, he exerciſed all manner of cruelty towards his Subjects, exceeding the moſt intolerable Tyranny. For he bought ſome well-favour'd *Barbarians*, and had others with him as Hoſtages, to whom he gave the liberty to do what they pleas'd to his Subjects, in order to gratifie his leud Eyes; and thereby brought all the Nations that were under him into extream miſery. At which the Court-Guards were troubled, and ſeeing him much given to Hunting, they put themſelves under the conduct of *Marcellinus* Prefect of the Treaſury, and *Magnentius* who commanded the *Joviani* and *Herculiani* (two Legions ſo called) and laid a Plot for him in this manner. *Marcellinus*

cellinus gave out he would keep his Sons Birth-day, and therefore invited a great many of the Superiour Officers of the Army to the Feaſt, and among the reſt *Magnentius*. And when it was midnight (for ſo long the Banquet laſted) *Magnentius* roſe from Table as if he had been going about ſome neceſſary Affair, and was not gone long before he came again, as it had been in a Play, clothed in a Royal Robe and ſtood before 'em. Whereupon all the Gueſts there ſaluted him by the name of *King*, and all the Inhabitants of *Auguſtodunum* (for there it was that this was done) were of the ſame Opinion. But when the report of it was gone abroad, the Country people alſo flock'd into the City: Whilſt at the ſame time a party of *Illyrian* Horſe that came to ſupply the *Celtick* Legions, were joyn'd with thoſe that were concern'd in this Enterpriſe. And to ſpeak plainly, when the Officers of the Army came together, and heard the Heads of the Conſpiracy cry out firſt, they ſcarce knew what the meaning was, but however they all ſet up their Throats and ſaluted *Magnentius* by the name of *Auguſtus*. Which when *Conſtans* heard, he endeavour'd to eſcape to a certain little Town, called *Helena*, that lies near the *Pirenæan* Mountains.

tains. But he was taken by *Gaiſon* who was ſent with ſome other ſelect Men upon that Errand, and being deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, was kill'd.

When therefore *Magnentius* had gotten the Empire, and was Lord of all the Nations beyond the *Alps*, beſides all *Italy*, *Vetranio*, General of the *Pannonian* Army, when he heard that *Magnentius* was promoted to be Emperour, was enflamed himſelf with the ſame deſire, and declared Emperour by the Legions that he had there with him, reſiding at *Murſa*, a City of *Pannonia*. But whilſt Affairs ſtood thus, the *Perſians* plunder'd the Eaſtern Country, in *Meſopotamia* eſpecially. But *Conſtantius* though he was worſted by the *Perſians*, yet he reſolv'd to ſubdue the factions of *Magnentius* and *Vetranio*.

But whilſt he was conſidering of theſe things, and mighty intent upon his Warlike preparations (*Magnentius* being yet in *Gallia Celtica*) *Nepotianus*, *Conſtantius*'s Nephew by his Siſter, whoſe name was *Eutropia*, muſter'd up a Company of mad Fellows, addicted to Robbery and all kind of debauchery, with whom he came to *Rome*, and appear'd in an Imperial Garb: But *Anicetius*, whom *Magnentius* had made Prefect of the Court, arm'd

arm'd ſome of the common people, and drew 'em out of the City, as if he deſign'd they ſhould engage with *Nepotianus*, and a ſharp Conflict indeed they had. But the *Romans*, who were undiſciplin'd and obſerv'd no Order, were eaſily routed: and when the Prefect ſaw 'em fly, he ſhut the Gates, for fear the Enemy ſhould purſue 'em into the City: ſo that *Nepotianus*'s men follow'd 'em, and becauſe they had no way to eſcape, kill'd 'em every man. But in a few days after *Magnentius* ſent out an Army under the Command of *Marcellinus*, who was Commander of the Court-forces (whom they call, *Magiſter Officiorum*) and kill'd *Nepotianus*.

In the mean time *Conſtantius* came out of the Eaſt againſt *Magnentius*, but thought fit firſt to oblige *Vetranio* ſome way or other, becauſe he knew it inconvenient to have to do with two Traitors at a time. And on the other ſide *Magnentius* did what he could to make *Vetranio* his friend, and thereby put an end to the War againſt *Conſtantius*. So they both ſent Agents to *Vetranio*, who choſe to be of *Conſtantius*'s ſide rather than that of *Magnentius*. Whereupon *Magnentius*'s Embaſſadours went away without their Errand, and *Conſtantius* deſired that both the Armies

mies might meet, to consult publickly how to manage the War against *Magnentius*. To which Proposal *Vetranio* easily agreed, and they two seated themselves upon a Throne provided for that purpose. Where *Constantius* according to his Dignity, speaking first, took all occasions in his Speech to 'em, to mind the Soldiers of his Fathers Munificence, and of the Oaths which they had taken to be true to his Children. And then he told 'em, they ought not to let *Magnentius* pass unpunish'd, who was the murtherer of *Constantine*'s Son, with whom they had fought many Battels, and been most generously rewarded for it. Which when the Soldiers heard, who had been before-hand engaged by rich Presents, they cry'd out, They would have no mock-Emperors; and thereupon they presently strip'd *Vetranio* of his Purple and pull'd him from the Throne; with resolutions to make him live a private life. But *Constantius* would not suffer 'em to do him any harm, and therefore sent him into *Bithynia* where he gave him enough to live upon. But he had not lived there long without any employment, before he died.

Constantius seeing his Design against *Vetranio* took so good an effect, he went against *Magnentius*, but first made *Gallus* his

his Uncles Son, who was the Brother of *Julian* (that afterward came to be Emperor) *Ceſar*, and gave him his Siſter *Conſtantia* in Marriage; either in order to his oppoſing the *Perſians*, or (which was the truth of it) to get an opportunity of taking him off. For he and his Brothers were the onely perſons left of *Conſtantius*'s Family, who had kill'd all the reſt, as I have told you. When therefore he had clothed him in a *Ceſarian* Robe, and made *Lucillianus* General for the *Perſian* War, he march'd toward *Magnentius* with his own and *Vetranio*'s Soldiers all in one body. And *Magnentius* on the contrary, who thought fit to meet him with more Forces, declared his kinſman *Decentius* (who was to govern the Nations beyond the *Alps*) *Ceſar*. But when the Armies met in *Pannonia*, and came very near one another at a Town called *Murſa*, *Magnentius* planted an Ambuſcade in the avenues near *Adrana* and ſent a Meſſenger to *Conſtantius*'s Officers to retard their motion, that they might march into *Siſcia*, becauſe he intended to fight thereabout, where the fields were open and ſpacious. Which when *Conſtantius* heard he was very glad of it, that he was to fight in a place where there was room enough for the Horſe, of which he had more than

the Enemy, and ſo led his Army toward *Siſcia*. But as they went along, unarm'd and out of order (not thinking what would happen) the Troops who lay in Ambuſh fell upon 'em and ſtop'd their paſſage with ſtones which they threw upon 'em in ſuch vaſt quantities as that they kill'd moſt part of 'em.

And now ſeeing many of his Enemies ſlain, *Magnentius* was ſo proud of this Exploit, that he muſter'd up his Forces, and would not ſuffer the War to be delay'd any longer, but march'd immediately into *Pannonia*. And when he came to the Plains before (that which was formerly) *Cius*, (through the middle of which the River *Draus* runs, and paſſing by *Noricum* and *Pannonia* diſcharges it ſelf into the *Iſter*) he led his men into *Pannonia*, intending to engage near *Sirmium*. But they ſay his Mother forbad him to go that way, or over into *Illyricum*, though he would not obſerve her directions, notwithſtanding that he knew ſhe had prov'd a true Propheteſs to him upon many former occaſions. In the mean while *Magnentius* deliberated whether he ſhould croſs the *Saus* by a Bridg of his own making, or joyn his Boats together and ſo paſs over: and at the ſame time *Conſtantius* ſent *Philip*, who was one of the greateſt Men about

about him, as likewiſe a Perſon of extraordinary prudence, with a pretence of treating concerning Peace and an Alliance, but in reality, to obſerve the ſtate of *Magnentius*'s Army, and how they ſtood affected to fighting, or which way they were like to move. Who, when he came near to the Camp, met *Marcellinus*, who was *Magnentius*'s greateſt Favourite, and went along with him to *Magnentius*. Where after the Army was drawn up, *Philip* was deſir'd to tell the reaſon of his coming. Nor had he ſooner receiv'd the Order, than applying himſelf to the Soldiers, he told 'em, it was not fit for them who were *Roman* Subjects to wage War againſt *Romans*, eſpecially when *Conſtantine*'s Son was Emperor, with whom they had erected many Trophies againſt the *Barbarians*. And as for *Magnentius*, he ought to remember *Conſtantine*, with all the kindneſs he had ſhewn to him and his Parents. For it was *Conſtantine* that entertain'd him and promoted him to the greateſt Dignities, when he was in imminent danger. And having ſo ſaid, he deſired that *Magnentius* would depart out of *Italy*, and be content to govern all the Nations beyond the *Alps*.

This Speech of *Philip* had like to have made a mutiny through the whole Army: and therefore *Magnentius*, who was in a fright and had much ado to get the Soldiers to hear him ſpeak, told 'em he would willingly conclude a Peace too; but ſaid, he would diſmiſs the Aſſembly for that preſent time, till he had conſidered what to do, and would tell 'em his Opinion the next day. Whereupon the Aſſembly being diſſolv'd, *Marcellinus* entertain'd *Philip*, like one that he had a mind to be obliged to by the Laws of Hoſpitality; Whilſt in the mean time *Magnentius* debated with himſelf, whether he ſhould ſend *Philip* away without the intended effect of his coming, or keep him there, contrary to the Law of Embaſſies. And as he was in diſpute about it, he thought fit to invite all the Officers of his Army to ſup with him, and tell 'em his Opinion at Table. Which when he had done and that it was Day-light, he called the Army together once more, and put 'em in mind, what *Conſtans* had done againſt 'em when he was drunk and mad: and that the Soldiers could not endure thoſe Enormities, wherewith he oppreſſed the Commonwealth againſt all Law and Juſtice, but enclined to that which was moſt advantageous to the publick; and when they

they had freed the Cities from ſuch a ſavage beaſt, they forced him to be Emperor.

Nor had he made an end of ſpeaking before they all roſe up and ſhew'd their readineſs for carrying on the War; by arming themſelves immediately in order to paſs the *Saus*. Of whoſe approach the Sentinels that were upon the Watch in *Siſcia* (a Town that lies upon the *Saus*) were aware, and gave notice to the Garriſon; who ſhot ſome of 'em as they were landing upon the bank of the River, and others, that were acoming over, they ſtopp'd: ſo that many of 'em were ſlain, but more were trampled into the River, either by one another or by the Enemy. By which means there was a great ſlaughter made among 'em; and whilſt the one party fell off the Bridg as they endeavour'd to eſcape, the other purſu'd with all ſpeed; ſo that *Magnentius*, who was reduced to his laſt ſhift, had onely this way to avoid the preſent danger. He ſtuck a Spear in the ground, and with his right Hand becken'd to the Enemy as if he had a mind to treat for a Peace. Which when he ſaw they liſten'd to, He ſaid he would not paſs the *Saus* without the Emperor's leave. Which he had no ſooner ſaid, but *Philip* told him, he muſt leave

Italy and *Noricum* and go into *Illyricum*, if he would treat of Peace. And then *Conſtantius*, having heard what they ſaid, commanded his Soldiers not to purſue 'em any longer, and permitted *Magnentius* to bring his men over into the Plains between *Noricum*, *Pannonia*, *Myſia* and *Dacia*: becauſe he had a mind to get out of thoſe rough, cumberſom places, and fight where his Horſe might have room enough to ſhew themſelves; for he had more than the Enemy. And his Deſign took effect; ſo that he pitch'd upon *Cibalis*, which he thought a convenient place for his buſineſs, it being the ſame place where *Conſtantine* formerly conquer'd *Licinnius*. For that Town having the above ſituation, which I have told you in my Account of thoſe times, he kept part of his Army in it. And when he had raiſed a Bulwark between the Hill where the City ſtands and the Plain where the River *Saus* runs, he encloſed all that part of it which is not encompaſs'd by the River, with a deep Ditch and a thick Mound. And then he made a Bridg of Boats over all that part that was ſurrounded by the River, which Bridg he could disjoin when he pleas'd, and put it together again with as much eaſe. And here he ſet up Tents for his Army, and in the middle of all a Tent-

Royal

Royal which was inferiour to none of the Towns thereabout either for bigneſs or Ornament. But at that time the Emperor invited his Officers to a Feaſt, at which all but *Latinus* and *Thalaſſius* were preſent; but they were not there, though they were the Emperors greateſt favourites, becauſe they were taking care for *Philip*, whom *Magnentius* detein'd, notwithſtanding he was an Embaſſador.

But whilſt they were conſulting about this Affair, *Titianus*, a perſon of the Senatorian Order at *Rome*, came and brought a ſaucy Meſſage from *Magnentius*. For he uſed many abſurd expreſſions againſt *Conſtantine* and his Children, and charging the deſtruction of the Cities upon the Emperor's negligence; he commanded *Conſtantius* to make way for *Magnentius* by quitting the Empire, and be content to have his life ſaved. But he onely deſired the Gods and Fate to be the revengers of *Conſtans*'s Death, ſaying that he would fight with their aſſiſtance, and ſo let *Titianus* go back again to *Magnentius*, though *Philip* were ſtill in his cuſtody. At which time *Magnentius* drew out his Army and taking *Siſcia* upon the firſt attaque he razed it down to the ground. And when he had over-run all the Countrey near the *Sans* and carry'd away great ſpoils, he

he march'd toward *Sirmium*, which he hoped likewiſe to take without bloodſhed. But failing of his attempt (for he was beaten off by the Inhabitants and Soldiers that were ſet to guard the Town) he went with all his Army to *Murſa*. Where ſeeing thoſe that were in the Town had ſhut the Gates againſt him, and got upon the Walls, he could not tell what to do in the caſe, (becauſe he had no Engines, nor any other way to get near the Wall.) For he was pelted with ſtones and Darts by thoſe that ſtood and fought from the Battlements. Beſides which, when *Conſtantius* heard the Town was beſieged, he came with all his Forces to relieve it, having paſſed by *Cibalis* and all that Country through which the River *Draus* runs.

In the mean while *Magnentius* got nearer unto *Murſa* and ſet fire on the Gates; thinking that if he could conſume the Iron that cover'd the Wood (which would ſoon yield to the flames) he might make a paſſage wide enough for his Army to enter the City. But this did not ſucceed as he would have had it, becauſe thoſe men that were upon the Wall put out the fire with Water which they threw down in a great quantity. When therefore he heard that *Conſtantius* was near *Murſa*,

Murſa, he found out another ſtratagem, which was this: There was a certain *Stadium* or place of Exerciſe, before the City (aſſign'd formerly for thoſe that uſed to fight Prizes) which was all cover'd over with Woods: in which he hid four Companies of *Celtæ*, and bad 'em, that, when *Conſtantius* came up, and they were ready to engage before the City, they ſhould ſet upon the Enemies at unawares, ſo as to encompaſs and kill 'em every man. But this being diſcover'd by them that ſtood upon the Wall, *Conſtantius* ſent *Scolidonis* and *Manadus* two of his Captains immediately thither. But firſt they pick'd out all the choice of their Soldiers (as well ſuch as wore heavy Armour, as Bowmen) out of all thoſe that they commanded, and taking them along with 'em ſhut up all the Doors belonging to the *Stadium*. And then having poſſeſs'd themſelves of the upper ſteps going up to the *Stadium*, and encloſed the Soldiers that were in it on every ſide, they threw Darts at 'em. And ſeeing ſome of 'em put their Shields over their heads whilſt they endeavour'd to break open the Doors, they fell upon them too, nor did they ceaſe to throw Darts or cut 'em with their Swords till they had kill'd 'em every one. And thus *Magnentius*'s project being fruſtrated,

ſtrated, and falling out contrary to expectation, the Armies met and fell to it in the Plain before *Murſa*; where there was ſuch a Battel fought as was not known before in the whole courſe of this War, and many fell on both ſides.

But *Conſtantius* conſidering that, this being a Civil War, even Victory it ſelf would ſcarce be pleaſant to him, now that the *Romans* were ſo much weaken'd, and not able to withſtand the *Barbarians* (that attaqued 'em on every ſide) after ſo great a ſlaughter, he began to think that this War might be ended by ſome Propoſals of a Peace. And whilſt he was ruminating upon it, the Armies were ſtill engaged; among whom the *Magnentian* party grew more furious than ever; nor would they give over fighting though Night came upon 'em, but even their Captains continu'd doing all that became common Soldiers, and encouraging the Soldiers to ſtand up ſtoutly againſt the Enemy. And ſo on the other ſide, *Conſtantius*'s Captains call'd to mind the ancient courage and glory of the *Romans*. And ſo they fought on till it was dark Night; nor did they give over for all that, but wounded each other with Spears, Swords, or any thing elſe that came to their hands: inſomuch that neither the dark-

darkneſs, nor any thing elſe, that uſes to cauſe ſome reſpit in War, could make them ceaſe to kill each other, but they thought it the greateſt happineſs that could befall 'em to periſh by one anothers ſides. And of the Captains, who ſhew'd themſelves very ſtout and brave in this Battel, there fell among the reſt *Arcadius* Captain of the Legion call'd *Abulci*, and *Menelaus* who commanded the Horſe-Bowmen of *Armenia*.

Now it is worth ones while to tell you what they ſay of this *Menelaus*; and 'tis thus: They ſay that he would have taken three Darts at one time, and at one ſhot have hit not onely one but three mens bodies. By which way of ſhooting he kill'd a great many of the Enemies, and was himſelf almoſt the cauſe of their flight. But he was kill'd by *Romulus* who was Generaliſſimo of all *Magnentius*'s Army; and *Romulus* alſo himſelf fell at the ſame time: Who though he were wounded by a Dart that *Menelaus* ſhot at him, yet he did not give over fighting after he had receiv'd the Wound, till he had kill'd the man that gave it him.

And now that *Conſtantius* had the better on't, by reaſon that *Magnentius*'s Army ran away, there was a great ſlaughter

ter of Men, Horſes, and other Cattel. Wherefore *Magnentius* who was deſtitute of all hopes, and fear'd leſt the remaining part of his Army ſhould deliver him to *Conſtantius* thought beſt to leave *Pannonia*, reſolving to make an excurſion into *Italy*, and there raiſe men to try his fortune once more. But when he heard that thoſe of *Rome* were all of *Conſtantius*'s ſide, either out of hatred to him, or becauſe they had heard what had happen'd in the fight, and concluded to go over the *Alps*, and ſeek ſome ſanctuary for himſelf among thoſe Nations, that live thereabouts. But hearing that *Conſtantius* had obliged the *Barbarians* about the *Rhine* to be his Enemies, by great Preſents that he had made to 'em, as likewiſe that there was no going into *France*, by reaſon that ſome Officers had ſtopp'd his paſſage that way to gratifie *Conſtantius*, (nor could he go through *Spain* into the *Moors* Country, becauſe of thoſe *Roman* Allies there who ſtudied to oblige *Conſtantius*) he was in ſuch a confuſion, that he preferr'd a voluntary death before a diſhonourable life, and choſe rather to die by his own than his Enemies hand.

And

And thus died *Magnentius* when he had been Emperor three years and six months. He was of *Barbarian* extract, but lived among the *Leti*, a people of *Gallia*. He understood *Latin*; was bold when Fortune favour'd him, but cowardly in Adversity; ingenious in hiding his naturally ill inclination, and thought, by those that did not know him, to be a plain-hearted, good Man. And thus much I thought fit to say of *Magnentius*, because some have been of Opinion that he did a great deal of good in his time, that the World may know the truth of him, who never did any thing with a good intention in all his life.

But *Decentius*, whom *Magnentius* sent for to assist him, being now upon the Road to *Italy*, as soon as he heard what had befallen him, and lighting upon certain Legions and Troops, from whom he saw no hopes to escape, he hang'd himself.

After these things, when the whole Empire was now in *Constantius*'s hands, he began to be more arrogant than formerly, and could not behave himself with any moderation in his prosperity. And then the Offices for Calumny that use to be about such men, and are design'd for the

the ruine of thoſe that are in proſperity, were augmented. For Sycophants when they go about to pull a great Man down, in hopes to ſhare in his Eſtate, or Honour, they ſtudy ſome falſe Accuſation againſt him. And this was the caſe in *Conſtantius*'s time. For ſuch kind of Rogues who had made the Eunuchs about Court their Accomplices in the curſed Affair, flocking about *Conſtantius*, perſuaded him, that *Gallus* who was his Couſin-German, and a *Ceſar*, was not content with that Honour, would needs be Emperor. And indeed they perſuaded him that it was true ſo far that they made him reſolve upon *Gallus*'s deſtruction. Now thoſe that laid this Deſign were *Dynamius* and *Picentius*, men of mean condition, that endeavour'd to raiſe themſelves by ſuch ill Actions. *Lampadius* alſo was in the Conſpiracy, who was Preſect of the Court, and a Perſon that deſired always to be more in the Emperors favour than any body elſe. Since therefore *Conſtantius* gave ear to ſuch falſe Informations, *Gallus* was ſent for, but knew nothing of that which was intended againſt him. And as ſoon as he came *Conſtantius* in the firſt place degraded him from the Dignity of being a *Ceſar*, and when he had made him a private

private perſon, delivered him to the publick Executioners to be put to death: which was not the firſt time *Conſtantius* had ſtain'd his hands in the blood of his kindred, but onely an addition to many former inſtances.

A New

A New

HISTORY

Written by

Count *ZOSIMUS*,

Sometime Advocate of the Treasury.

The Third Book.

HEN *Constantius* had done what I have told you against *Gallus Cesar*, he went out of *Pannonia* into *Italy*. But seeing all the *Roman* Territories infested by the incursions of the *Barbarians*; and that the *Franks*, *Alemans* and *Saxons* had not onely gotten possession of forty Cities near the *Rhine*, but also destroy'd, and ruined 'em, by carry-

ing away an innumerable company of the Inhabitants, and a proportionable quantity of Spoils; as likewiſe, that the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians* without any obſtruction over-ran *Pannonia* and the upper *Myſia*; beſides that the *Perſians* were perpetually vexatious to the Eaſtern Countreys, though they had formerly been quiet out of fear, leſt *Callus Ceſar* ſhould have ſet upon 'em: conſidering (I ſay) thoſe things, and doubting what to do, he ſcarce thought himſelf able alone to manage Affairs in this critical juncture, and yet he was affraid to take a Partner in the Government, becauſe he ſo much affected to rule alone, and thought no man could be his Friend. And indeed in theſe circumſtances he was at a great loſs: but it ſo fell out, that when the *Roman* Empire was in the greateſt danger, *Euſebia*, *Conſtantius*'s Wife, who was an extraordinary learned Woman, and had more Wiſdom than is uſually found in her Sex, adviſed him to make *Julianus Ceſar* (who was Brother to *Gallus*, Grandſon to *Conſtantius* and made a *Ceſar* by *Diocletian*) Governour of the Nations which lie beyond the *Alps*. And becauſe *Euſebia* knew that the Emperour *Conſtantius* ſuſpected all his kindred, ſhe circumvented him in this manner: He, ſaid ſhe (meaning

ing *Julian*) is a young Man, that underſtands no Tricks of State, but has devoted himſelf to his Book all his life-time, being altogether unexperienced in Worldly affairs; upon which account he will be the more fit for our purpoſe than any other Perſon; for either he will have good luck, and ſo all his ſucceſs will be aſcribed to the Emperors Conduct, or he will miſcarry and die for it; after whom *Conſtantius* will have no body of the Imperial Race to ſucceed him.

When *Conſtantius* had patiently heard what ſhe ſaid, he preſently ſent for *Julianus* from *Athens*, where he lived among the Philoſophers, and excelled all his Maſters in every ſort of Learning. Who when he accordingly came out of *Greece* into *Italy*, *Conſtantius* declared him *Ceſar*, gave him his Siſter *Helen* in Marriage, and ſent him into the Nations beyond the *Alps*. But being naturally diffident, he could not believe that *Julian* would be true and faithful to him, and therefore he ſent *Marcellus* and *Saluſtius* along with him, ro whom, and not to *Ceſar*, he committed the whole adminiſtration of that Government.

And now *Conſtantius* having thus diſpoſed of *Julian*, he march'd himſelf into *Pannonia* and *Myſia*, where when he had

ſuppreſs'd the *Quadi* and the *Sarmatians*, he went into the Eaſt, and was provoked to Battel by the inrodes of the *Perſians*. By which time *Julian* was gotten over the *Alps* into the *Gallick* Nations that he was to Rule; upon whom ſeeing the *Barbarians* committed as much violence as ever, *Euſebia*, for the ſame reaſons as before, perſuaded *Conſtantius* to put the ſole management of thoſe parts into his hands. Now of *Julian*'s actions from that time through the whole courſe of his life, you may read at large in the Hiſtorians and Poets; though ne'r an one of 'em that have written of him, has wrote the heighth of his Character. But he that has a mind may ſee his own Orations and Epiſtles, and in them take a proſpect of all that he did through the whole World. And indeed I would give you a full account of him, but that I ought not to interrupt the Order of my Hiſtory. However I ſhall take notice of each particular relating to him in its due place; eſpecially of ſuch things as others have ſeemed to omit. — When therefore *Conſtantius* had given *Ceſar* power to do what he thought fit in thoſe Nations that were under his Command, he march'd into the Eaſt, to make War againſt the *Perſians*. But *Julian* finding the Militia of *Gallia Celtica* in a manner quite

quite ruined, and that the *Barbarians* pass'd the *Rhine* without any resistance even almost as far as the Sea-port Towns, he took a view of the remaining part of the Army. And understanding that the men of those parts were frighted at the very name of *Barbarians*, whilst those whom *Constantius* had sent along with him (who were not above three hundred and sixty in number) knew nothing more (as he used to say) than how to say their Prayers, he listed as many more as he could and took in abundance of Volunteers. He also took care for Arms, and found a parcel of old ones in a certain Town, which he fitted up with all convenient speed and distributed among the Soldiers. But when the Scouts brought him word that an infinite number of *Barbarians* had cross'd the River near the City of *Argentoratum* (*Strasburgh*) that stands upon the *Rhine*, he no sooner heard of it, than he went forth with his Army in all haste, and engaging with the Enemy gain'd such a Victory as is above all expression; for there were sixty thousand men kill'd upon the spot, besides as many more that were tumbled into the River and drown'd. So that if a man compares this Battel with that of *Alexander* against *Darius*,

he'll find this Victory to be no way inferiour to that.

But we ought not silently to pass over that which *Cesar* did after he had gotten the Victory, which was thus. He had (you must know) a Regiment of six hundred Horse, that were well disciplin'd men; to whose strength and experience he so far trusted, that he ventur'd a great part of his hopes upon their performances. And indeed when the fight first began, the whole Army fell upon the Enemy with all the briskness they could shew: but some time after though the *Roman* Army had much the better on't, these were the onely men that ran away, and left their station so dishonourably, that when *Cesar* rode up to 'em with a small Party and called 'em back to share in the Victory, he could not prevail with 'em by any means. Upon which account *Cesar* was very angry with them, that they (as much as in them lay) had betray'd their Countrymen to the *Barbarians*. But yet he did not inflict upon them the legal and usual punishment. For he put 'em in Womens Cloths, and led 'em through the Camp toward another Province, because he thought such a Penalty would be worse than Death to Soldiers that

that were Men. And truly this happen'd to prove very good both for him and them: for in the ſecond War againſt the *Germans*, they remember'd the ignominy, that was formerly laid upon them, and were almoſt the onely men, who behaved themſelves bravely in that Action.

When *Ceſar* had done thus, he raiſed a great Army by degrees, to make War upon the whole *German* Nation. But the *Barbarians* oppoſed him in very vaſt numbers, and therefore *Ceſar* would not ſtay till they came up to him, but croſs'd the *Rhine*; as judging it more advantageous that the *Barbarians* Country ſhould be the Seat of War rather than that of the *Romans*; for thereby the Cities would eſcape being pillaged by the *Barbarians* any more. So therefore to it they fell, and very briskly too, inſomuch that an infinite number of *Barbarians* were ſlain in the Battel; whilſt others fled, whom *Ceſar* purſu'd into the *Hercynian* Woods, and kill'd a great many of 'em, but took *Vadomarius*, the *Barbarian* Generals Son, alive, and brought his Army home, ſinging triumphant Songs, and Praiſes to *Ceſar* for his Exploits in the atchieving of thoſe Victories. But *Julian* ſent *Vadomarius* unto *Conſtantius*, believing that he owed the ſucceſs of that Victory to his good Fortune.

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that were Men. And truly this happen'd to prove very good both for him and them: for in the ſecond War againſt the *Germans*, they remember'd the ignominy, that was formerly laid upon them, and were almoſt the onely men, who behaved themſelves bravely in that Action.

When *Ceſar* had done thus, he raiſed a great Army by degrees, to make War upon the whole *German* Nation. But the *Barbarians* oppoſed him in very vaſt numbers, and therefore *Ceſar* would not ſtay till they came up to him, but croſs'd the *Rhine*; as judging it more advantageous that the *Barbarians* Country ſhould be the Seat of War rather than that of the *Romans*; for thereby the Cities would eſcape being pillaged by the *Barbarians* any more. So therefore to it they fell, and very briskly too, inſomuch that an infinite number of *Barbarians* were ſlain in the Battel; whilſt others fled, whom *Ceſar* purſu'd into the *Hercynian* Woods, and kill'd a great many of 'em, but took *Vadomarius*, the *Barbarian* Generals Son, alive, and brought his Army home, ſinging triumphant Songs, and Praiſes to *Ceſar* for his Exploits in the atchieving of thoſe Victories. But *Julian* ſent *Vadomarius* unto *Conſtantius*, believing that he owed the ſucceſs of that Victory to his good Fortune.

In the mean time the *Barbarians*, who were in very dangerous circumſtances, fearing, upon the account of their Wives and Children, leſt *Ceſar* ſhould go into thoſe places where they lived, and quite deſtroy their whole Generation, they ſent Embaſſadours to treat of an Accommodation, by which they would be bound never to fight againſt the *Romans* any more. But *Ceſar* told 'em, He would not treat of Peace upon any terms, unleſs he firſt receiv'd back the Captives whom they had formerly taken in the ſeveral Towns which they conquer'd. To which ſeeing they conſented and promiſed to deliver up all that were alive; *Ceſar*, to make ſure that no ſingle Captive ſhould remain among the *Barbarians*, took this courſe: He ſent for all thoſe that were fled out of each City and Village, and requir'd 'em to tell him by their Names what Captives the *Barbarians* had taken from each of their Cities or Villages. And when they had ſeverally named the Perſons, whom they knew either upon the ſcore of Kindred, Neighbourhood, Friendſhip, or upon ſome other account, he order'd the Imperial Notaries to take a Catalogue of them: which they did ſo privately that the Embaſſadours knew nothing of it. And then *Ceſar* croſſing the *Rhine*,

Rhine, commanded them to bring back the Captives: which in a ſhort time they obey'd. But becauſe they ſaid, that thoſe were all the Captives, *Ceſar* who was ſeated upon an high Throne, and had planted the Notaries behind him, he gave Order, that the *Barbarians* ſhould produce their Captives, according to their Articles. So when the Captives came before him one by one and told their names, the Notaries that ſtood hard by *Ceſar*, look'd into their Papers to ſee whether they were right. But afterward comparing thoſe which they had taken down, with thoſe that appear'd before *Ceſar*, and finding that the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Cities and Villages had named many more than were there preſent, they ſtood behind *Ceſar* and told him of it. Whereupon he threaten'd the Embaſſadours to make War againſt the *Barbarians*, for not delivering all the Captives, and by the ſuggeſtion of the Notaries named certain Perſons of ſuch and ſuch Towns that were yet lacking. Which the *Barbarians* hearing, they preſently imagined that *Ceſar* had all the moſt abſtruſe and ſecret things in Nature revealed to him by ſome Divine Intelligence, and therefore they promiſed to deliver up all that they found alive, and Bound their Promiſe with the

the accuſtomary Oaths of their Country.

Which when they had done, and had reſtored as many Captives as it was probable might be taken out of forty Cities which they ſack'd, *Ceſar* was at a loſs what to do, becauſe he ſaw the Cities quite ruined, and that the Land had been for a conſiderable time untilled, which cauſed a great ſcarcity of proviſions among thoſe that were delivered up by the *Barbarians*. For the neighbouring Cities could not ſupply 'em, becauſe they themſelves had been very ſenſible of the *Barbarian* violence, and conſequently had no great plenty for their own uſe. He therefore, being in a doubt what to reſolve on, contrived it thus: The *Rhine* diſcharges it ſelf into the *Atlantick* Ocean at the utmoſt limits of *Germany*, where ſome of the *Galls* live: and from that ſhore the Britiſh Iſle lies nine hundred furlongs diſtant. For which reaſon he got Timber out of the Woods that lie upon the River and built eight hundred Veſſels, bigger than Skiffs; which he ſent into *Britain* for Corn, and invented a way how to carry that Corn up the *Rhine* in Boats. And this he did ſo often (becauſe the Voyage was but ſhort) that he abundantly ſupply'd them, that were reſtored to their Cities, ſo that they had meat enough,

Seed-

Seed-corn, and what they lacked between that and Harveſt. And theſe things he did when he was hardly enter'd into the five and twentieth year of his Age.

But ſeeing the Soldiers loved him for his frugality at home and courage in the Wars, and alſo for his Command that he had of himſelf in reſpect to Riches with his other Virtues, wherein he excell'd, I had almoſt ſaid, all the men of his Age, *Conſtantius* was full of envy to ſee *Julian* do ſuch great things; and thought that *Saluſtius* who was one of thoſe Counſellours that were allotted to him, had been the Author of all that Policy which gained him ſo much Honour both in his Warlike and Civil Affairs. Wherefore he ſent for *Saluſtius*, as if he would have made him Governour of the Eaſtern Countreys. And *Julian* as readily diſmiſs'd him, becauſe he was reſolv'd to be obedient unto *Conſtantius* in all points. But though *Saluſtius* were now removed, yet all that was committed to *Julian*'s charge encreas'd every day (as I may ſay) in a great meaſure, and the Soldiers were improved in military experience, as well as augmented in their numbers, whilſt the Towns enjoy'd Peace and the fruits of it.

And

And now almoſt all the *Barbarians* thereabouts began to deſpair, and expected little leſs than the utter ruine and deſtruction of all them that were leſt alive, when at the ſame time the *Saxons* (who are the ſtouteſt *Barbarians* in all thoſe parts both for courage, ſtrength and hardineſs in a Campagne) ſent out the *Quadi*, who are a part of themſelves, into the *Roman* Dominions. But they were hinder'd from paſſing the River by the *Franks* (who lived upon their Confines, and were affraid of giving *Ceſar* a juſt occaſion to make another inrode upon them) and therefore built themſelves a convenient number of Boats, in which they ſailed upon the *Rhine* beyond the *French* Territories, and got into the *Roman* Empire. And when they arrived at *Batavia*, which the *Rhine* by being divided makes an Iſland, much bigger than any River-Iſland beſides, they drove out the *Salii*, who are a Nation deſcended from the *Franks* and turn'd out of their own Country into this Iſland by the *Saxons*. For this Iſland though it had been formerly ſubject to none but the *Romans*, yet it was now in poſſeſſion of the *Salii*. Which when *Ceſar* knew, he endeavour'd to countermine the *Quadi*; but firſt commanded his Army to engage them briskly, but kill ne'r an

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one of the *Salii* or hinder their paſſage into the *Roman* Countreys, becauſe they did not come as Enemies, but were forced thither by the *Quadi*.

As ſoon as the *Salii* heard how kind *Ceſar* was to 'em, ſome of 'em went over out of the Iſland with their King into the *Roman* Confines, and others fled to the utmoſt borders of the Country, but all of 'em came and humbly committed both their lives and fortunes to *Ceſar*'s gracious protection.

But *Ceſar* by this time obſerving that the *Barbarians* durſt not fight with him any more, they were ſo intent upon their ſecret incurſions and ſly Thieveries (by which they did a great deal of damage to the Country) he could not tell what to do, till at the laſt he invented this Stratagem to baffle the *Barbarians*. There was a man, much bigger than any body elſe, and one that had courage proportionable to his bulk. Which Perſon, being by Nation a *Barbarian*, and having uſed to rob with the other *Barbarians*, thought fit to leave his own Country and go into *Gallia Celtica*, which was under the *Romans*. But whilſt he ſojourn'd ſometime at *Treves* (which is the greateſt City in all the Nations beyond the *Alps*) and ſaw the *Barbarians* beyond the *Rhine* over-run the

the Cities that are ſituate upon this ſide of the River, and pillage all places without controul (which was before that *Julian* was made a *Ceſar*) he was reſolving with himſelf to defend thoſe Towns. But becauſe he durſt not do that for want of Law to back him in it, he at firſt went alone into the thickeſt part of the Woods and waited till the *Barbarians* made their incurſions, and ſo in the Night-time when they were Drunk and aſleep, he ſet upon 'em and cut off as many of their heads as he was able, which he brought and ſhew'd to thoſe that were in the Town. And this he did continually; inſomuch that he rebated the keenneſs of the *Barbarians*, who though they could not tell how it came to paſs, yet they were ſenſible of a prejudice done to 'em by the Armies decreaſing almoſt every Day. But after other Robbers had join'd with this ſame Perſon and of a great many ſingle Perſons had made a conſiderable Company, then *Charietto* (for that was the mans Name; who firſt found out this way of Ambuſcade againſt the *Barbarians*) came to *Ceſar* and told him all the ſtory, which few People knew before that time. —— And thereupon *Ceſar* who could not eaſily reſtrain the nocturnal and clandeſtine inrodes of the *Barbarians* (for they robb'd

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in ſmall Companies ſtraggling from each other: and when it was Day, you could not ſee one man of 'em, becauſe they hid themſelves in Woods adjacent to the fields, and lived upon that which they had gotten by robbing) *Ceſar* therefore (I ſay) conſidering how difficult it was to ſubdue ſuch an Enemy, was forced to oppoſe theſe Thieves not with an Army of Soldiers onely, but Moſs-Troopers alſo.

For this reaſon he took *Charietto* and his men along with him, beſides a good many of the *Salii* which he added to 'em, and ſent 'em forth in the Night againſt the thieviſh *Quadi*, who though they lived at that time upon what they ſtole, yet might be leſs skill'd in the Art of Robbing which theſe men had ſtudied. And then in the Day-time he kept Guard in the open field, and kill'd all that eſcaped his Robbers. And thus he did for a great while together, till the *Quadi* were reduced to ſuch a ſtreight, and ſo ſmall a number that they and their General ſurrendered themſelves to *Ceſar*, who had taken a great many Priſoners in the former excurſions and engagements, had got among the reſt, the Kings Son, whom *Charietto* took. For that was the cauſe that when they made ſuch miſerable Petitions for Peace, and

Ceſar

Ceſar demanded ſome of their Nobility for Hoſtages; amongſt whom he requir'd the King's Son ſhould be one; the General [or King] broke out into a moſt lamentable Complaint and ſwore, with tears in in his Eyes, that he had loſt his Son too among the reſt. Which *Ceſar* ſeeing, he had compaſſion upon his ſorrow and ſhew'd him his Son who was kept very nobly: but told him withal, that he would keep the Youth for an Hoſtage, as well as others of the Nobility whom he had upon that account; for he condeſcended to make Peace with 'em upon Condition that they ſhould never more lift up their hands againſt the *Romans*.

When *Ceſar* had ſetled things in this manner, he added the *Salii*, ſome part of the *Quadi* and of them that live in the Iſle *Batavia*, to his Legions, whoſe Diſcipline we ſeem ſtill to retain. But in the mean time the Emperour *Conſtantius* was in the Eaſt diſpoſing onely of the *Perſian* Affairs and intent upon the Wars in thoſe parts. For all the Nations beyond the *Alps* were in good order, as being managed by *Ceſars* Conduct: nor were either *Italy* or *Illyricum* in any danger, by reaſon that the *Barbarians* who dwelt beyond the *Iſter* were affraid leſt *Ceſar* ſhould come through

through *Gallia*, pass the *Ister* and set upon 'em, and therefore contein'd themselves within the bounds of modesty. Wherefore *Constantius* being thus employ'd, the *Persians* whose Kings name was *Sapores*, at that time pillaged the Country of *Mesopotamia*, and when they had wasted all places about *Nisibis*, they besieged the City it self with all their Forces. But *Lucillianus* the General was so well provided for a Siege that partly by the happy occasions which he prudently made use of, and partly by his own contrivances the City escaped those mischiefs that beset it, and was deliver'd from extremity of danger. But how it was brought about I thought superfluous to tell you, since *Cesar* himself has given an account of all the transactions of those times in a peculiar Treatise; which whosoever reads, will find a great deal of Oratory in that Man.

But at this juncture when the Affairs of the East seem'd now to be in a quiet posture, and *Cesars* mighty deeds were the publick Discourse, *Constantius* was seized with bitter envy. And being stung with the prosperous success of all that was done in *Celtica* and *Spain*, he devised pretences, under which he by degrees, and without any dishonor might lessen *Cesar*'s Power and so deprive him of his Dignity. To

which end he by a Meſſenger commanded *Ceſar* to ſend him two Legions of the *Celtick* Soldiers, as if he wanted their aſſiſtance. And *Julian* in obedience to his Order immediately diſpatch'd 'em away, partly through ignorance of his Deſign, and partly becauſe he would not give him the leaſt occaſion to be angry. But when he had ſo done, he took all care imaginable of the *Celtick* Affairs, whilſt the Army encreas'd daily and the *Barbarians* even in the remoteſt parts of the Country were ſo terrified at it that they did not ſo much as dream of making War. But after that *Conſtantius* required ſome other Legions to be ſent him from *Ceſar:* and having obtein'd his deſire, he commanded four Companies more to be tranſmitted to him. According to which Precept *Ceſar* gave notice to the Soldiers that they ſhould prepare to march. But whilſt *Julian* was at *Pariſium* (a little Town in *Germany*) the Soldiers being ready to march were at Supper till Midnight in a place near the Palace which there they ſo called, but knew not a word of what was intended againſt *Ceſar*; when certain Tribunes, who had found that to be really true which was formerly contrived againſt him, diſpers'd a great many Notes without any Name to 'em privately among the

the Soldiers, in which they gave 'em to underſtand, how *Ceſar*, who by his Policy had ſo order'd the matter, that almoſt all of them had erected Trophies againſt the *Barbarians*, and had always fought like a private Soldier, was in extream danger from the Emperor, who would ſhortly rob him of all his Army, if they did not all get together and hinder the Soldiers marching. And when ſome of the Soldiers, having read thoſe Notes, had diſcover'd the Intrigue to the whole Army, it made 'em all very angry. Whereupon they aroſe from the place where they were in a great hurli-burly, whilſt the Cups were yet in their hands and went to the Palace, where breaking open the Doors without any Ceremony at all, they brought *Ceſar* forth, and lifting him up upon a Shield declared him Emperor *Auguſtus*, and put a Diadem upon his Head whether he would or no.

'Tis true, *Ceſar* was troubled at what they had done, but did not think it ſafe for him to reverſe it, becauſe *Conſtantius* would not abide by any Oaths, or Covenants, nor obſerve any other Obligation which binds mankind to keep their words; and yet he would try him. So he ſent Embaſſadours to tell *Conſtantius* that he

had been declared Emperour without his ſeeking, and if he pleaſed he was ready to lay aſide his Diadem and keep to his honour of being *Ceſar* onely. But *Conſtantius* was ſo enraged and ſo arrogant, that he told the Embaſſadors, That if *Julian* loved his life, he muſt lay down the very Garb of a *Ceſar* as well as his Imperial Dignity, and in a private capacity ſubmit himſelf to the Emperors pleaſure. For he ſhould come to no harm, nor ſuffer what his audacity deſerv'd. Which when *Julian* was inform'd of by the Embaſſadors, he openly ſhew'd what his Opinion was of the Deity. and declared before 'em all, He had rather truſt the Gods than *Conſtantius* with his life and fortune. And from this time it plainly appear'd what a grudg *Conſtantius* bore to *Julian*; for *Conſtantius* preſently prepared for a Civil War. When at the ſame *Julian* was troubled that ſuch things ſhould fall out; becauſe if he fought with him who had conferr'd upon him the Honour of a *Ceſar*, he ſhould be eſteemed by many People but an ungrateful Man.

But whilſt he was conſidering of theſe things, and revolving within himſelf, as being very loth to undertake a civil War, the Deity told him what ſhould come to paſs,

paſs, in a Dream. For when he was at *Vienna*, the Sun ſeemed in a Dream to ſhew him the Conſtellations and to ſpeak theſe Verſes:

When Jupiter *th' extremity commands*
Of moiſt Aquarius, *and* Saturn *ſtands*
In Virgo, *twenty five,* Conſtantius *ſhall,*
Though Emperour of Aſia, *ſurely fall.*

Now therefore relying upon this Dream, he was very diligent (as he uſed to be) in publick buſineſs. And becauſe it was yet Winter-time he took all neceſſary care of what related to the *Barbarians*, that if he ſhould have been forced to undertake any new Enterpriſe, the ſtate of *Celtica* might have been ſecure. But at the ſame time, whilſt *Conſtantius* continu'd in the Eaſt, *Julian* prepared to fruſtrate his Deſign. For it being pretty far in the Summer, he had no ſooner ſetled matters among the *Barbarians* beyond the *Rhine*, (whom he had partly forced into good manners with his Sword, and partly perſwaded 'em by experience, from what was paſt, to love Peace rather than War) he put his Army in ſuch a poſture as if they had been juſt a going a long Journey. And when he had conſtituted both Civil and Military Officers to govern the Towns

and the Borders, he march'd with his Army toward the *Alps*. And when he came into *Rhetia*, where the River *Iſter* riſes that runs though *Noricum*, all *Pannonia*, *Dacia*, *Myſia* in *Thrace* and *Scythia*, till it diſcharges it ſelf into the *Euxine* Sea, he built a company of Boats, and with three thouſand of his men went down the *Iſter*, commanding twenty thouſand of 'em to go by Land to *Sirmium*. And becauſe they rowed continually with the ſtream (beſides that they had the benefit of the yearly Winds called *Eteſiæ*) he arrived the eleventh day at *Sirmium*. Where when it was reported that the Emperor was come, almoſt all People thought it had been *Conſtantius* that was meant; but ſeeing it was *Julian*, they all ſtood amazed, as if they had taken him for an Apparition.

But not long after when his Army that follow'd him out of *Celtica* was come, he wrote to the *Roman* Senate and to the Forces of *Italy*, to have a care and keep their Cities, ſince he was Emperor. And whereas *Taurus* and *Florentius*, the two Conſuls for that year who were of *Conſtantius*'s ſide, left *Rome* as ſoon as they heard that *Julian* was got over the *Alps* into *Pannonia*, he order'd them to be termed Fugitive Conſuls in all publick Inſtruments.

ments. But he behaved himself very obligingly to all the Towns that he pass'd by, though in all haste, and put 'em all in good hopes of him. He likewise wrote to the *Athenians*, the *Lacedemonians* and *Corinthians*, to let 'em know the reason of his coming. And when he was at *Sirmium* there came Embassadours out of almost all *Greece* to him; to whom when he had given such answers as became him, and granted 'em all that was their due, he march'd forward with his *Celtick* Army and another which he raised both out of *Sirmium* and the Legions which lay in *Pannonia* and *Mysia*.

But when he came to *Naisus* he consulted the Soothsayers to know what he had best to do. And seeing the Entrails signified that he must stay there some time, he did so, observing withal the time that was foretold to him in his Dream. Which when it was come according to the motion of the Stars, there arrived a party of Horse from *Constantinople*, whilst he was at *Naisus*, who told him that *Constantius* was dead; and that the Armies desired *Julian* should be Emperour.

Whereupon he accepted of what the Gods had bestow'd upon him, and so went on his Journey forward. But when he came to *Byzantium*, the People all re-

ceived him with joyful Acclamations, calling him their Fellow-Citizen and their Darling (becauſe he was born and bred in that City) and gave him all other kind of reſpect, as a Perſon that was like to be the Author of very much good to Mankind. And here whilſt he took care both for the City and the Army, he gave the City the priviledg to call a Senate like that in the City of *Rome*. He alſo made a large Port to it, to ſecure the Ships from the South-winds; together with a Portico (reſembling the Letter *Sigma* more than a ſtreight figure) which leads to the Port. And beſides all this, he built a Library in the Imperial Portico, wherein he put all the Books that he had; and having ſo done he prepared for the *Perſian* War. But when he had tarried ten months in *Byzantium* he made *Hormiſdas* and *Victor* Generals, to whom he committed the Tribunes and the Armies, and ſo went to *Antioch*. It is not neceſſary to tell you with what pleaſure and zeal the Soldiers went this Journey. For it is not likely that they ſhould do any thing that was unſeemly when they were under ſuch an Emperors Conduct as *Julian* was. So when he came to *Antioch* the People received him very kindly. But being by nature great lovers of Shews and publick Sports,

Sports, and more addicted to pleaſure than ſerious matters, they did not very probably ſo well like the Emperors prudence and modeſty in all ſorts of things; becauſe he would refrain from coming into the publick Theatres, nor would he often ſee Plays, or when he did, not ſit at 'em all Day. Upon which account they ſpoke very ſtrange words of him that vex'd him. But he was reveng'd upon 'em, not by inflicting any real puniſhment, but by compoſing a very gentile Oration upon them and the City; which has ſo much of *Satyr* in it mix'd with Gall, that it may ſerve for a Lampoon upon the *Antiochians* through the World. But they were ſorry for their faults: and therefore the Emperor when he had done for the City as much as in equity he was able, and granted to it a great number of Senators who ſhould ſucceed in that Office by deſcent from Father to Son; and likewiſe admitted thoſe that were born of Senators Daughters to be of the ſame number, (which is a priviledg that few Cities have) and done many other juſt and good Actions, he prepared for the *Perſian* War.

And when the Winter was over, having muſter'd his Forces together, and ſent 'em before him in the regular way

of

of marching, he went out of *Antioch* though he had no encouragement from the Oracle. But what the reaſon of that was I can tell; though I had rather hold my Tongue. Now therefore when he was come to *Hierapolis* upon the fifth day, where he had order'd all the Ships to meet, both Men of War and thoſe of Burthen too, from *Samoſata* and other places that uſed to ſail in *Euphrates*; and having made *Hierius*, a Captain of Foot, his Admiral, he ſent him before, but ſtay'd himſelf three days and no more in *Hierapolis*. After which time he went to *Batnæ* a little Town in *Oſdroena*, where the *Edeſſenes* met him in whole Droves, preſenting him with a Crown, and bidding him welcome into their City with joyful acclamations. He accepted of their kindneſs, and coming into the City, made what Orders he thought good and ſo went on to *Carræ*. But becauſe from hence there were two ways; the one through the River *Tigris* and the City of *Niſibis*, till you come to the Provinces of *Adiabene*, and the other by *Euphrates* and *Circeſium* (which is a Caſtle encompaſſed by the River *Aboras* and *Euphrates* it ſelf, and lies upon the Confines of *Aſſyria*) the Emperor was at a ſtand which way to take,

take, and in the mean time news was brought that the *Perſians* had made an incurſion upon the *Roman* Dominions. At which the Camp was ſomewhat diſturb'd; But the Emperor underſtood they were Robbers rather than any others, who took what came next to their hands and went their way with it; and therefore he reſolv'd to leave a competent Guard upon the places near the River *Tigris*, leſt if all the Army ſhould go along with him the other way through the *Perſian* Territories, the *Perſians* ſhould pillage *Niſibis* and all thoſe parts without being diſcover'd, eſpecially when they found 'em deſtitute of all Defence. He therefore thought fit to leave in that Country eighteen thouſand men, of whom *Sebaſtianus* and *Procopius* ſhould be the Chief Commanders, whilſt he himſelf with the main Body of the Army went over *Euphrates* with his Forces divided into two Parties; that they might be ready to reſiſt the Enemy as ſoon as they ſaw 'em, and not ſuffer 'em ſo licentiouſly to over-run whatever came in their way.

When he had thus order'd his Affairs at *Carræ*, (a Town that parts the *Roman* from the *Aſſyrian* Dominions) he had a mind to view the Army from ſome more eminent place, and admire the Foot Companies

panies as well as the Troops of Horſe, which were in all full ſixty five thouſand men. And therefore marching out of *Carræ*, he preſently paſs'd the Caſtles between that and *Callinicum*, from whence arriving at *Circeſium* (of which I told you before) he croſs'd the River *Aboras* and ſo failed over *Euphrates*. The Soldiers alſo follow'd him who had brought proviſions along with them, and they likewiſe took ſhipping who were enjoin'd ſo to do. For by this time the Navy was arriv'd, in which there was a great many ſhips; that is to ſay, ſix hundred made of Wood, and five hundred made of Skins. Beſides which there were fifty ſhips of War, and others alſo that follow'd along with 'em, to make Bridges, if occaſion were, for the Army to paſs the Rivers on foot. There were alſo a great number of other Ships or Veſſels that follow'd, which ſerv'd partly to carry proviſions for the Army, partly Timber to make Engines, and partly battering Engines for a Siege, that were ready made. Now of all this Navy *Lucilian* and *Conſtantius* were Admirals. And when the Army was thus diſpoſed of, the Emperor ſate upon a Throne, and from thence ſpake to 'em all that was requiſite for him to ſay or them to do; which when he had done, he gave each of 'em an hundred

dred and thirty pieces of Silver, and ſo march'd toward *Perſia*, where *Victor* commanded the Foot, but *Hormiſdas* and *Arintheus* together, the Horſe. Of that *Hormiſdas* I told you before, that he was a *Perſian* and a Kings Son; but perſecuted by his Brother and fain to run away to the Emperor *Conſtantine*, from whom his approved fidelity and friendſhip deſerv'd the greateſt honours and preferments.

When therefore the Emperor was come into *Perſia*, the Horſe was placed in the left Wing, and march'd along the bank of the River, whilſt part of the Foot attended upon the right, and the rereguard of them was ſeventy furlongs off. Between whom and the foremoſt march'd the Beaſts of Burthen, that carry'd the heavy Armour with other Proviſions and Attendants; that they alſo might be ſecure, as being encloſed on every ſide by the Army. And now having ſo contrived his march forward, he thought fit to ſend one thouſand five hundred of his men before him, to ſcout and ſee whether any Enemy approached either in open view or by way of Ambuſcade, of whom he made *Lucilianus* Captain. Then moving forward ſixty furlongs, he came into a place called *Lautha*; and from thence to *Dura*, where

where you might have ſeen the ruins of a City, which was at that time deſerted, as likewiſe the Sepulchre of King *Gordianus*. In which place alſo the Soldiers found a multitude of Deer, which they ſhot and eat with great ſatisfaction. From thence he went ſeven Days march to a place called *Phathuſæ*, over againſt which there was an Iſland in the River, whereon ſtood a Caſtle that had a great many men in it. He therefore ſent *Lucilianus* thither with a thouſand of his Vanguard under his Command, to beſiege the Caſtle. And though as long as it was dark the beſiegers went undiſcover'd, yet as ſoon as it was Day, being eſpied by one that came out of the Caſtle to fetch Water, they put thoſe that were within into a grievous fright. Upon which immediately they all got up upon the Wall, till the Emperor came over into the Iſland with his Engines and the other part of his Army, and promiſed thoſe that were within, that if they would deliver up themſelves and their Caſtle they ſhould eſcape certain Death. Accordingly they did ſurrender, and the Emperor ſent them, Men, Women and Children into the *Roman* Dominions with a Guard of Soldiers to conduct 'em: and made *Puſeus*, their Captain,

tain, not only a Tribune in his own Army, but, for his fidelity, made him one of his familiars ever after.

Some diſtance from this, he arrived at another Iſland in the ſame River, where there was another very ſtrong Caſtle; which the Emperor attaqued but found it impregnable on every ſide, and therefore demanded of 'em that they would ſurrender, and not run the riſque of being ſack'd. To which they reply'd, That they would do as others did; and ſo he went forward to other Caſtles, which he paſs'd by, as being ſatisfied with the like promiſes. For he did not think it worth his while to ſpend too much time about ſmall things, but look'd upon it as his beſt courſe to haſten and prepare for the main buſineſs of the War. So then after ſome days march he came to *Dacira* which is a Town on the right hand as you ſail along *Euphrates*. Which when the Soldiers found forſaken of its Inhabitants, they took away a great deal of Corn that was laid up there, and no ſmall quantity of other things. And when they had kill'd all the Women that were left in it, they razed the Walls ſo low, that no one who ſaw the place would think there ever had been a Town there. But to conclude the account of this place and the parts adjacent,

cent, give me leave to tell you by the by, That upon the oppoſite ſhoar there was a Fountain, that flow'd with Pitch or Bitumen. From thence he came to *Sitha*, *Megia* and the City *Zaragardia*; in which there was a lofty Throne, made of Stone; which the Inhabitants uſed to call, *Trajans Throne*: where when the Soldiers had eaſily plunder'd and burnt the City, they ſpent that Day and the next in Recreations.

In the mean time the Emperor wonder'd that his Army had march'd ſo far and met no *Perſians* either in Ambuſcade or the open Field; wherefore he ſent *Hormiſdas* with his Scouts to look out, becauſe he knew that Country beſt. In which Expedition *Hormiſdas* and his Soldiers had all been like to have periſh'd if it had not been for one lucky accident that unexpectedly ſaved 'em. For a Perſon called *Surenas* (which is a Title of Honour among the *Perſians*) had planted an Ambuſcade in a certain place, expecting *Hormiſdas* and his men to come that way, and deſigning to ſurprize 'em as they paſs'd by. And indeed that hopes had taken effect, if *Euphrates* had not broken out of its uſual courſe and running between the Enemy and *Hormiſdas* impeded the paſſage of him and his Soldiers.

diers. And upon this account being forced to defer their Journey, the next Day they diſcover'd *Surenas* and all his Accomplices in the Ambuſcade, with whom they wheeled about and engaged. And having kill'd many of 'em, they put ſome to flight, but mingled the remaining part among their own Army. From thence they went on to an Arm of *Euphrates*, which reaches as far as *Aſſyria*, and all along till you come to *Tigris*. Where being the Soldiers met with a ſtiff Clay and marſhy ground, in which the Horſes had the worſt on't, nor could they themſelves ſwim the River in their Armour, or wade over either, it was ſo deep and muddy, they could not imagine what to do. And that which made the danger greater, was, that they ſaw the Enemy on the other ſide, who were ready to ſtop their paſſage with Darts and Stones which they threw out of Slings. But when no body elſe could think of an Expedient to free them from thoſe imminent dangers, the Emperor himſelf, who was a man of great ſagacity in all things and very well vers'd in Military Affairs, reſolved to order *Lucillianus* and his fifteen hundred Scouts to go and attaque the Enemy behind, thereby to give 'em a Diverſion, till he and his Army had paſs'd the River. To which

end he ſent forth *Victor*, one of his Captains, with a competent number of men: who leſt the *Perſians* ſhould ſee him ſet out, began his Journey in the Night-time, and when he had gone ſo far, that the Enemies could not ſee what he did even in the Day, he croſs'd the Channel to ſeek *Lucillianus* and his Party. And going on ſtill forward but finding no Enemy by the way, he call'd out to his Country-men not onely with a loud Voice, but gave 'em notice alſo with Trumpets to come to him. But indeed he met him according to his deſire, and *Lucillianus* who gueſs'd what his buſineſs was, joining his with *Victors* Forces, went and ſurpriſed the Enemy behind. Who being taken ſo unprepared were either ſlain or made their eſcape which way ſoever they could. By this means the Emperor, ſeeing his ſtratagem ſucceeded, paſs'd over the River without any reſiſtance. And having got his Horſe over in Boats that he light upon there, and the Foot in other Veſſels, which he found in many parts of the River, he continu'd his Journey forward, without any dread of an Enemy, till he came to a certain City called *Berſabora*, whoſe bigneſs and Situation he took a view of. For it was encloſed with two round Walls, and in the middle

of

of it there was a Caſtle, with another Wall about it, much like the Segment of a Circle; to which there was a Way from the inner Wall of the City, that one could hardly get up to. And then upon the South and Weſt ſide of this City there was a crooked winding way out: whereas upon the North part they had made a broad Water-graff out of the River, from whence they convey'd Water for the uſe of the Inhabitants. And laſtly upon the Eaſt ſide it was encompaſſed with a deep Ditch and a Mound born up with ſtrong croſs pieces of Timber; about which Ditch great Towers ſtood, which were built from the ground half way with Brick cemented by a kind of bituminous Loam; but above the middle they were made of the ſame kind of Bricks and Plaiſter.

Now the Emperor having reſolv'd to take this City, he encouraged his Soldiers to the attempt, who were ſo far from being backward that they obey'd his Order with all alacrity. Whereupon the Citizens deſired that the Emperor would pleaſe to receive 'em into his favour and friendſhip; begging one while that he would ſend *Hormiſdas* to treat of Peace with them, and anon reviling the ſame Perſon as a Fugitive, a Renegado, and a

betrayer of his Countrey. At which the Emperor having good cauſe to be angry, he commanded all his Men to mind their buſineſs, and carry on the Siege with all their vigour. Nor did they fail each one to do his part, till the beſieged ſeeing themſelves unable to defend their Walls fled all into the Caſtle. Which when the Emperor ſaw, he ſent his Soldiers into the City that was now bereſt of its Inhabitants; who pull'd down the Walls, burnt the Houſes, and planted Engines upon the moſt opportune places, from which they threw both Darts and Stones upon them that were got into the Caſtle. But becauſe the beſieged from the Caſtle kept off the beſiegers with Darts and Stones which they continually threw back; inſomuch that there was a great ſlaughter on both ſides, the Emperor either by his own ingenuity upon conſideration how the place was Situated, or out of his extraordinary experience, made this kind of Engine: He faſten'd great pieces of Timber together with Iron, in form of a ſquare Tower, which he placed againſt the Caſtle Wall, till by degrees it was made as high; and into that ſame Tower he put Bowmen with Engineers that uſe to ſling Darts and Stones. So that the *Perſians*

ſians who were pelted on all ſides, both by the beſiegers, and thoſe that were upon the Engine, were forced after a ſhort reſiſtance, at laſt to promiſe, they would ſurrender the Caſtle, if the Emperor would offer any reaſonable Terms. And thereupon they agreed, that the *Perſians*, every man of 'em, which were within, ſhould paſs through the middle of the *Roman* Army untouch'd, and each of 'em have a certain ſum of money, beſides a Coat upon their ſurrendering the Caſtle to the Emperor. Which being perform'd, there were about five thouſand men diſmiſs'd, beſides what eſcaped in Long-Boats over the Water; and among the reſt their Captain *Momoſirus* went out at the ſame time. And when the Caſtle was thus taken, the Soldiers who ſought for what might probably be left in it, found an immenſe quantity of Corn, all kind of Arms and Engines, together with Houſhold furniture and other Proviſions in abundance. All which they diſpoſed of as they thought fit, only the greateſt part of the Corn was put into the Ships to maintain the Soldiers, and the reſt they divided among them over and above their ordinary allowance. And as for the Arms, as many of 'em as were fit for the *Roman* uſe were diſtributed among the Army; but thoſe that were one-

ly adapted to the *Persian* manner of fighting were partly burnt and partly thrown down the River.

From this Action did the *Roman* glory receive no small addition; That so great a City, even the greatest in *Assyria* next to *Ctesiphon*, and so well fortified, should be taken by storm in onely two days. And for that reason the Emperor was very kind to his Soldiers, as he shew'd by a laudatory Speech that he made in their commendation, as much as it was convenient for him to say, and by the hundred pieces of Silver which he gave to each one of 'em. And so much for these Affairs: whilst in the mean time *Surenas*, coming with a great Army out of a Town in *Assyria*, surprised the *Roman* Scouts that went before the rest of the Army, kill'd one of the three Tribunes with some of his Soldiers, and put the rest to flight, so that he carry'd off an Ensign Military, which was like a Dragon, and such as the *Romans* use to carry in War. Which when the Emperor knew of he was very much troubled, and in a rage, just as he was, fell upon *Surenas*'s men, made 'em all run that could get away, re-took the Ensign which the Enemy had taken away, and coming immediately to the City, where *Surenas* had surprised the Scouts, he

he ſtorm'd, took, and burnt it. And as to the Captain of the Scouts; becauſe he left his Enſign with the Enemy, preferring his ſafety before the bravery and honour of a *Roman*, he took away his Girdle from him, and look'd upon him as a ſcandalous, pitiful Fellow, as well as all the reſt that ran away along with him.

But going forward over the River he came to a place near which there is a City called *Tiſſenia:* about the Walls whereof there was a Ditch, which though it were very deep the *Perſians* fill'd with a great deal of Water which they derived into it out of the neighbouring River, which is called *the Kings River.* But they paſſed this City without any ſtay (becauſe there was nothing in it that had the face of hoſtility) and went through a place where there was an artificial Fenn, made out of a fancy which the *Perſians* conceiv'd, that if they cut a Sluce for the River to come in, it was impoſſible for an Army to paſs that way. Yet the Emperor running before (as much as men uſe to do over ſuch a wet ground) the Army follow'd him, though they were up to the knees. For they could not for ſhame but do what they ſaw the Emperor did before 'em. But when the Sun was ſet, the Army reſted hard by; whilſt the Emperor

commanding ſome of his Soldiers and ſeveral Artificers to follow him, cut down Trees and Wood wherewith he made a Bridg over the Sluces, and throwing earth into the Fens fill'd up the deep places, and in ſome meaſure widen'd the ſtreight paſſages. After which coming back he led his Army through with great facility, till he came to a Town called *Bithra*, in which there was a Palace and room enough to receive not onely the Emperor but his Army alſo.

But he departed thence too, and with the ſame pains as before, went before his men, making the way thereby more tolerable to 'em. And by this means he carry'd 'em all over with him, till he came to a place, where there was ne'r a Houſe, but onely a Grove of Palm-trees; in which there were alſo Vines growing, that ran up to the top of the Palm-trees, and preſented their Eyes with the ſight of Palm-fruit mix'd with Grapes. And when he had ſpent the enſuing Night in this place, the next Morning he went forward. But coming too near to a certain Caſtle he had like to have receiv'd his Deaths-wound. For a *Perſian* that came out of the Caſtle with his Sword in his Hand ſtrook full at the Emperors Head; which he foreſeeing clap'd his Shield upon his Head

Head and ſo broke the blow. Upon which the Soldiers immediately fell aboard the *Perſian* and kill'd him together with all his Companions, except ſome few, that by chance eſcaped through the Enemies and fled into the Caſtle. And now the Emperor being extreamly enraged at this bold action, walk'd round the Caſtle to ſee if it were any where pregnable. But whilſt he was buſie about this Affair, *Surenas* ſet upon the Soldiers that remain'd in the Palm-grove before they were aware of him, as hoping by that means not only to get all their beaſts of Burthen and Carriages, but to divert the Emperor from beſieging the Caſtle, as ſoon as he heard of it; though he was deceiv'd in both parts of his Project. For the Emperour thought it a matter of great conſequence to take the Caſtle; becauſe there was a City near it called *Beſuchis*, which was very populous; beſides a great many other Caſtles, whoſe Inhabitants were fled away into that which the Emperor was a beſieging becauſe their own were not ſtrong enough to protect 'em; excepting ſome that fled to *Cteſiphon*, or hid themſelves in the thickeſt part of the Grove.

Upon this account the Emperor laid cloſe Siege to it; whilſt in the mean time that part of the Army which was ſent out

out to Scout or aſſiſt their own Party, if any Enemy appear'd, did not only defeat all thoſe that oppoſed 'em, but killed ſome and made others ſhamefully run for their lives, inſomuch that they ſecur'd the Emperor whilſt the Siege laſted. And becauſe ſome of thoſe that fled had gotten into the Fens that are in the Grove, the Scouts did not ſpare even them neither, but kill'd ſome and took the reſt Priſoners: whilſt thoſe that were beſieged in the Caſtle kept off the Enemy with Darts of all ſorts which they threw at 'em. And becauſe they had no Stones within, they made Balls of Pitch which they ſet fire to and flung upon them; nor was it hard to hit them they aimed at, becauſe they threw from above and at a great multitude together. Yet notwithſtanding the *Roman* Soldiers, though they had the diſadvantage of the lower ground, omitted no kind of Warlike Policy, or true Valour. For they threw and ſhot great Stones and Darts at the Enemy, not onely out of Bows but Engines alſo; and thoſe ſo contrived, that they would hit not onely one, but two, three, or more at a time. But ſeeing the Caſtle ſtood upon an Hill, and was fortified with two Walls, ſixteen great Towers and a deep Ditch about it, which at one part of it brought in

in Water for them that were in the Caſtle to drink, the Emperor bad the Soldiers get Earth enough and fill up the Ditch, and then raiſe a Mound upon it as high as one of the Towers. He likewiſe reſolv'd to dig in another place through (under) the Wall toward the middle of the inner Wall, with intention to ſurpriſe the Enemy out of a Mine. But the Enemy hinder'd them that were to raiſe the Mound by continual flinging of Darts upon 'em; and therefore the Emperor himſelf undertook the main Battery by ſeveral contrivances for defence againſt either Darts or Fire-balls: but he left the care of the Mines and raiſing of the Mounds to *Nevita* and *Dagalaiphus*. Then giving *Victor* the Command of ſo many Foot and ſo many Horſe, he order'd him to Scout out in all places betwixt that and *Cteſiphon:* and if any Enemy appear'd, with deſign to divert the Emperor from his Siege, that he ſhould fruſtrate any ſuch attempt by the help of thoſe he had with him: and likewiſe that he ſhould make the way from thence to *Cteſiphon*, by Bridges and other Methods more eaſie for him and his Army.

Having thus given his Captains their ſeveral Charges, he planted his Rams againſt a certain Gate, which he did not onely

onely ſhake but broke to pieces. And ſeeing thoſe that had the care of the Mines committed to them, were lazy and did not mind their buſineſs, he removed them by way of Diſgrace for their remiſsneſs, and ſubſtituted others in their places. After which he brought a ſecond Ram before another Gate, which was not ſtrong enough to bear the ſhock of it; when at the ſame time there came a Meſſenger to tell him, that they who were order'd to dig a Mine from the Ditch into the Town had done their work, and were juſt ready to ſpring in. Now the men concern'd were three Companies, that is to ſay, the *Mattiarii*, *Laccinarii*, and the *Victores*. But the Emperor kept a little in ſuſpenſe, whilſt he commanded an Engine to be brought with all ſpeed againſt another Gate, where he planted all his Army: to make the Enemy believe, that on the morrow with that Engine he would take the Caſtle. For his Deſign indeed was, to keep the *Perſians* from any thoughts of being ſurpriſed through a Mine. And therefore all thoſe that were in the Caſtle were wholly intent upon deſtroying that Engine; whilſt at the ſame time the Parties, who had the care of the Mines having dug quite through even to the Surface of the Earth, they came forth at mid-night in the

the middle of an Houſe, where there was a Woman a grinding Corn; whom he that firſt appear'd immediately kill'd, becauſe ſhe was a going to cry out. His name, that did ſo, was *Superantius*, a notable Soldier in the Regiment of the *Victores:* and next to him came *Magnus*; then *Jovianus* a Tribune in the Regiment of the *Notarii*, with many more that follow'd 'em. And when by degrees the paſſage was made wider they were all got preſently into the middle of the Town. From whence they ran to the Wall and ſurpriſed the *Perſians*, who were ſinging after their Country faſhion in praiſe of their own King's Valour, but condemning the *Roman* Emperors vain attempt: for they ſaid he might ſooner take *Jupiter*'s Palace than their Caſtle: till the *Romans* came upon 'em, and killing all they met with, by tumbling 'em down from the Wall, they purſu'd the reſt and cut 'em off with all manner of Deaths; nor did they ſpare either Women or Children, except ſome few that they had a mind to make Slaves of. But *Anabdates*, the Governour of the Caſtle, being taken, as he ran through it, together with all his Guards which were eighty in number, was brought to the Emperor with his Hands bound. Now the

the Caſtle being thus taken by force and all the People in it, of what age ſoever, ſlain, except a few that were unexpectedly preſerved, the Soldiers fell to plundering; and when they had taken all they could find they razed the Wall to the very ground with Engines which they planted againſt it. Nor did they ſtop there, but pull'd down and burn'd all the Houſes in ſuch a manner that no body could imagine there had been ever any there.

From hence he march'd on and paſs'd by other Caſtles of no great Note, till he came to an encloſed Place which they call *the Kings Hunting* [*Chaſe,*] where there was a Wall, containing within it a large ſpace of ground, planted with all ſorts of Trees, in which there were all kinds of wild Beaſts, which wanted no food, becauſe it was brought in to 'em, and they were only kept for the King to Hunt when he pleaſed. Which when *Julian* ſaw, he order'd the Wall to be broken down in ſeveral places; and by that means the Soldiers ſhot the Deer as they ran by 'em. But beſides this place he ſaw ſomewhere nigh unto it a Palace magnificently built after the *Roman* faſhion: which when he heard was erected by the *Romans*, he left it,

it, and would not ſuffer the Tribunes to ſpoil any part of it, out of reſpect to the *Romans* who were ſaid to be the Founders of it.

From hence when the Army had paſs'd by ſeveral Caſtles, they came to a City of *Armenia* called *Sabatha*, which is thirty furlongs from that which was formerly called *Zochaſa*, but is now *Seleucia*. And whilſt the Emperor tarried with moſt part of his Army in a place near to it, the Scouts that went before had ſtorm'd the Town. The next Day the Emperor walking about the Walls of it, he ſaw ſeveral Bodies hanging upon Gibbets before the Gates; whom the Natives ſaid were the kinſmen of one that had been accuſed for betraying a Town of the *Perſians* which the Emperor *Carus* had taken. And that put the Emperor in mind to ſummon *Anabdates* the Governor of the Caſtle, to his Trial; who though he had often deceiv'd the *Roman* Army, by his pretences to aſſiſt 'em in the War againſt *Perſia*, yet he had then a freſh Crime laid to his Charge, for ſpeaking ſcandalouſly of *Hormiſdas*, as, calling him Traitor before a great many People, and ſaying he was the cauſe of that Expedition againſt the *Perſians*: for which he was taken and put to death.

Soon

Soon after his Execution, the Army marching on *Arintheus* ſearch'd all the Fens and finding a great many men in 'em, he took 'em Priſoners. But it was here, that the *Perſians* firſt muſter'd up their Forces and ſet upon the Scouts that went before the Army; though they were ſoon routed, and glad to ſave their lives by flying into a neighbouring City. But the *Perſians* on the other ſide the River attaquing the Servants that look'd to the Beaſts of Burthen, and others alſo as many as they found with 'em, kill'd part of 'em and took the reſt alive: which was the firſt loſs the *Romans* happen'd to have had, and therefore put the Army in ſome kind of conſternation. From thence they removed to a certain Sluce or Channel which was very large, and cut (as the Country People ſay) by *Trajan*, when he made War againſt the *Perſians*: Into which the River *Narmalaches* runs and diſcharges it ſelf into the *Tigris*. This therefore the Emperor cauſed to be cleans'd and ſearch'd, to make way for his Veſſels to paſs into the *Tigris*, and, if poſſible, to make Bridges for the carrying of his Army over. And whilſt theſe things were in agitation there, a great Body of *Perſians* upon the oppoſite Bank, both Horſe and Foot, were got together,

gether, to hinder their paſſage if any ſuch thing were attempted. Which preparation of the Enemy when the Emperor diſcover'd, he was extreamly eager to be over with 'em, and in a fury commanded his men to go aboard the Veſſels. But they ſeeing the other Bank ſomewhat higher than ordinary, and beſides that a kind of an Hedg along it, which was formerly made for a fence to the King's Garden, but at that time ſerv'd for a Wall, they ſaid they were affraid of the Darts and Fire-balls which were thrown down from it. Whereupon the Emperor being very earneſt with 'em, two Ships full of Foot Soldiers went over; which the *Perſians* preſently ſet on fire by throwing a great quantity of flaming Darts upon them. At which the Army was ſo much more diſmay'd, that the Emperor was fain to tell a lye to hide his errour; *They*, ſays he, *are got ſafe over and have made themſelves maſters of the Bank: I know it by the fire that is in their Ships, which I order'd the Soldiers, that went over, to make in token of Victory.* Not had he ſooner told 'em ſo, than, juſt as they were, they went into the Ships and over as faſt as they could; till they came where they could wade, and then leaping into the Water, they engaged the *Perſians* ſo briskly that

they not onely got poſſeſſion of the Bank, but alſo retrieved thoſe two Ships which came over before, being now half burnt, and ſaved all the men that were left in them. And then the Armies fell upon each other ſo fiercely, that the Battel continu'd from twelve a Clock at Night till twelve a Clock at noon next Day; till at length the *Perſians* gave way, and fled as faſt as their Legs would carry 'em, their Captains being the firſt that began to run; that is to ſay, *Pigraxes* (who was a Perſon of greateſt Birth and Quality next to the King,) together with *Anareus* and *Surenas* himſelf. But the *Romans* and the *Goths* ran after 'em and kill'd a great many, from whom they took a deal of Gold and Silver, beſides all kind of Ornaments either for Men or Horſes, with Silver Beds and Tables, whatever they found which the Officers had left upon the Rampires. Now they reckon that in this Fight there fell of the *Perſians* twenty five hundred, and of the *Romans* not above ſeventy five. But Captain *Victor* ſeemed in ſome meaſure to abate the Armies joy for their Victory, by being wounded from an Engine.

The next Day the Emperor got his Army over the *Tigris* without any difficulty, and the third Day after the fight both

both himſelf and his Guards went after 'em. And coming to a certain place (which the *Perſians* call *Abacatha*) he ſtay'd there five days, whilſt he conſulted concerning his Journey forward, and found, it was better to march farther into the Country than to lead his Army by the Rivers ſide, becauſe there was now no neceſſity of their going by Water. And having conſider'd of it, he imparted his mind to the Army, whom he commanded to burn the Ships: and they accordingly were all conſumed, except eighteen *Roman* and four *Perſian* Veſſels, which were carry'd along in Waggons, to be made uſe of upon occaſion. And now, their way lying a little above the River, when they came to a place call'd *Noorda*, they made an Halt, where they kill'd and took a great number of *Perſians*. But from thence going forward to the River *Durus*, they made a Bridg over it for their own paſſage: and ſeeing the *Perſians* had burnt up all the forrage of the Countrey, ſo that the *Roman* Cattel were ready to ſtarve for want of it; as alſo, that they were gathered into ſeveral Companies to wait for the *Romans*, whom they imagined to be but few; and then, ſoon after, drawn up into one Body, they made toward the River. Where whilſt the Scouts that went be-

fore the Army engaged with a Party of the *Perſians*, one *Macamæus*, a ſtout, brisk Blade, got among 'em and kill'd four, though they were naked. But for that bold act they all fell upon him and ſlew him. Which when his Brother *Maurus* ſaw, he ventur'd to reſcue at leaſt his dead Body from amidſt the *Perſians*; and kill'd the Man that gave him the firſt Wound; nor did he give out, though he were frequently ſhot at, until he had brought his Brother off and deliver'd him to the Army, yet alive.

Afterward when they came to the City *Barrophtha*, they found the forage (as before) burnt up by the *Barbarians:* and ſeeing a Party of *Perſians* mix'd with *Saracens*, who durſt not ſo much as look upon the *Roman* Army, but were immediately gone, the *Romans* could not tell what to think of it, till the *Perſians* by gathering themſelves into a conſiderable Body, made the *Romans* believe they had a deſign upon their Cattel of Burthen. Whereupon the Emperour was the firſt that putting on a Coat of Mail march'd toward 'em with more ſpeed than all the reſt of the Army. But the *Perſians*, not able to endure the ſhock of his Charge, thought beſt to fly into ſuch places as they well knew. And ſo the Emperour went

went on to a place called *Symbra*, that lies between two Towns whoſe names are *Nisbara* and *Niſchanabe*, which are ſeparated from each other by the *Tigris*; though the Townſmen have frequent and eaſie intercourſe by a Bridg over that River. But that Bridg the *Perſians* burn'd down, leſt the *Romans* by help of it ſhould do 'em both as much injury as they pleaſed. And here it was that the Scouts who went a foraging before the reſt, defeated the *Perſian* forces as ſoon as they ſaw 'em; whilſt the Army finding great plenty of proviſions in the Town, took what they had occaſion for and deſtroy'd the reſt.

From thence they march'd to a place between the Cities of *Danabe* and *Synca*, where the *Perſians* ſet upon the Rear of their Army and kill'd a great many, but loſt more and ran away, as having the worſt of it upon ſeveral accounts. For in this fight one *Duces*, a great Satrape [a Nobleman of *Perſia*) was kill'd: being the ſame Perſon that formerly had gone Embaſſador to the Emperor *Conſtantius*, to treat of Peace and make an end of the War. But when the Enemies ſaw, that the *Romans* came near to a Town call'd *Acceta*, they burn'd up the fruits of the

Countrey; till the *Romans* ran in and by quenching the fire, ſaved what was left for their own uſe.

In their march from this place they came to a Town called *Maronſa*; where the *Perſians* again attaqued the Rere-guard of their Army, and in the Engagement kill'd one *Brettanio* (among the reſt) who was Captain of a Troop and fought bravely. They alſo took ſeveral Ships, which fell in their way by being a great deal behind the Army. But from thence the *Romans* paſſing haſtily along by certain Villages, came to a place called *Tummara*; where they all repented the burning of their Ships. For the Cattel were not able to carry all their neceſſaries, they were ſo tired with travelling in an Enemies Country; and then the *Perſians* got all the forage that they could, and laid it up in their beſt fortified places that the *Roman* Army might not come at it. And when they were in this condition they ſaw the *Perſian* Army; with whom they engaged, and having much the better of it, they kill'd a great many of the *Perſians*. But the day after about the time when it was *full Change* [about noon] the *Perſians* drew up in a great Body and fell upon the Reer of the *Roman* Army once more; who

who being at that time out of their Ranks, were ſurpriſed and ſtartled at the ſuddenneſs of the attaque, but yet they made a very brisk defence, whilſt the Emperor went round about the Army (as he uſed to do) encouraging them to ſtand boldly to it. And when by that means they were all engaged, the Emperor who went one while to the Captains and Tribunes, and another while was among the common Soldiers, received a Wound with a Sword in the very heat of the Battel, and being laid upon a Shield was carried to his Tent, where he lived till Midnight and then died, after he had almoſt ruined the *Perſian* Empire.

Now whilſt the Emperors death was conceal'd, the *Roman* Army had ſo much the better of it, that fifty of the greateſt *Satrapes* [*Perſian* Nobles] were ſlain, beſides an infinite number of ordinary men. But when the Emperors death was diſcover'd, and the Soldiers came back to the Tent where his dead Body lay, ſome few of the *Romans* indeed fought on, and conquer'd their Enemies; whilſt certain Companies coming out of a *Perſian* Garriſon engaged with them that were under the Command of *Hormiſdas*. And after a ſmart Battel, *Antonius* fell, who was Captain of the Court-Guards, and call'd

by the *Romans* [*Magiſter Officiorum.*] And at the ſame time *Saluſtius*, the Pretect of the Court, who fell from his Horſe, had like to have been kill'd by the Enemies, who were juſt upon him, if one of his Servants had not alighted and made way for his eſcape. With whom alſo thoſe two Legions that were about the King and are called the *Scutarii* [Shield-men] gave way. But out of thoſe that turn'd their backs there were onely ſixty Men, who being concern'd for their own and their Countreys honour expoſed themſelves to death, till they had taken that Caſtle, from whence the *Perſians* ſallying out upon the *Romans* had ſeemed to have gotten the Day. And though it was after beſieged three days together by the Enemies, yet thoſe within were preſerv'd by a conſiderable Party that ſet upon the beſiegers. But afterward there was an Aſſembly ſummon'd, both of the Nobility and Soldiery, to conſult, who ought to ſucceed in the Empire; becauſe it was impoſſible for 'em to avoid thoſe dangers that might happen in the middle of an Enemies Country without a Governor. Where they Voted that *Jovianus* ſhould be Emperor, who was the Son of *Varronianus*, Tribune of the *Domeſtici* Forces.

Now

Now all that was done till *Julian*'s death is juſt as I have told you. But when *Jovian* had put on the Purple and the Diadem, he went homeward as faſt as he could. And when he came to the Caſtle of *Suma*, the *Perſian* Horſe fell upon him not onely themſelves, but alſo with Elephants that they brought thither in great numbers, and did a deal of hurt in the Right Wing of his Army, where the *Joviani* and the *Herculiani* were poſted. Which two appellations of *Joviani* and *Herculiani* belong to two Legions that were ſo called from *Diocletianus* and *Maximianus*, the one of whom ſurnamed himſelf *Jove*, and the other *Hercules*. And though at firſt they could not ſuſtein the ſhock of the Elephants, but were forced, many of 'em, to fly and fall by the way, yet when the *Perſians* came up againſt 'em with their Horſe and Elephants together, they happen'd to come into a riſing ground where the *Roman* Carriages lay and thoſe that look'd after 'em: who being now made ſharers in the danger aſſiſted 'em by throwing Darts from above upon the *Perſians*, wherewith they wounded their Elephants. Which when the Elephants felt, immediately as their manner is, they ran away roaring and put the Horſe all out

of

of order: ſo that the Soldiers kill'd not onely the Elephants, as they fled, but many alſo of the Enemies died in the Conflict. There died alſo of the *Roman* ſide three Tribunes, who had fought bravely, to wit *Julianus*, *Maximianus*, and *Macrobius*. And when they had ſought among the dead, and found the body of *Anatolius*, they gave him as honourable a Funeral as the time would then permit, when the Enemy was round about 'em.

And having ſo done they march'd on four days, being continually haraſs'd by the Enemy, who follow'd 'em if they went forward, but fled away if the *Romans* made any reſiſtance; till at length having got a good way from 'em they reſolv'd to croſs the *Tigris*. To which purpoſe they tied bottles together in rows like Yokes, and upon them went over. And when they were moſt of 'em gotten upon the oppoſite Bank, then the Captains came ſafe over with the reſt. Yet for all this the *Perſians* would not leave 'em, but follow'd cloſe with a great Army wherever they went; ſo that the *Romans* were in perpetual danger both from their ill circumſtances, of Place and Perſons, and alſo from their want of Proviſions. But though this were the ſtate of the *Roman*

man Army, yet the *Perſians* were willing to treat for a Peace, and ſent *Surenas* with other Officers to the *Roman* Camp about it. Which when *Jovian* heard of he ſent *Saluſtius*, Prefect of the Court together with *Arinthæus* to 'em, who after ſome mutual Diſcourſes about the Affair, made a Truce for thirty years. But it was agreed between 'em both that the *Romans* ſhould deliver up the Country of the *Rabdiceni* to the *Perſians*, as alſo that of the *Cardueni*, *Rhemeni*, and *Zabeni*, beſide fifteen Caſtles that were there, with their Inhabitants, Lands, Cattel and all their Goods: but that they ſhould ſurrender *Niſibis* without its Inhabitants, becauſe they were to be tranſplanted into what Colony the *Romans* pleaſed. But the *Perſians* alſo took away from the *Romans* a great part of *Armenia* and left 'em but ſmall ſhare in it. Now therefore when the Truce was made upon theſe terms and confirm'd by Inſtruments on both ſides, the *Romans* thereby had opportunity to return home in quiet, ſo that the two Parties neither offer'd nor receiv'd any damage one to or from the other, by open force or Ambuſcade.

But now that I am come to this part of the Hiſtory, it puts me in mind of looking back into former Ages, to enquire,

quire, whether the *Romans* ever gave away any of their Dominions to other Nations, or ever ſuffer'd any one to poſſeſs what they had once Conquer'd. For when *Luc. Lucullus* had defeated *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, and had firſt made the whole Country even to the middle of *Armenia*, and *Niſibis* it ſelf an addition to the *Roman* Empire, beſides the adjacent Caſtles; then *Pompey* the Great to Crown all his great Deeds, eſtabliſh'd and confirm'd the poſſeſſion of them to the *Romans* by a Peace which he made. And when upon another Commotion in *Perſia*, the Senate choſe *Craſſus* for their Plenipotentiary and General, who by his ill Conduct has left a blot ever ſince upon the *Roman* Name, becauſe he was taken Priſoner and died in *Perſia*, *Antonius* was made the General; but being in love with *Cleopatra*, he was very remiſs and careleſs in all Warlike Affairs; inſomuch that he alſo went off with ſome things charged upon him unworthy of the *Roman* Name. And yet though the *Romans* had all theſe miſchances, and miſcarriages they did not loſe ſo much as one of thoſe Provinces. Nay when their Republick was turn'd into a Monarchy, and *Auguſtus* made *Tigris* and *Euphrates* the limits of the *Roman* Empire, even that did not deprive them

of

of this Country: But ſo far it was from that, as on the contrary, a great while after when *Gordianus* the Emperor fought againſt the *Perſians*, and was kill'd in the middle of the Enemies Country, the *Perſians* were not able even after that Victory to gain any thing upon the *Roman* Dominions; no not when *Philip* was Emperor, who made a moſt diſhonourable Peace with the *Perſians*. And not long after, when the *Perſian* Fire had enflamed all the Eaſt, and that great City *Antioch* was taken, ſo that the *Perſian* Army march'd as far as *Cilicia*, *Valerianus* the Emperor undertook an Expedition againſt 'em, and though he were taken by 'em yet they durſt not pretend to be Maſters of theſe Countreys. Onely the death of the Emperor *Julian* was cauſe enough for us to loſe 'em, and that ſo irrevocably, that the *Roman* Emperors could never recover any part of 'em even to this day, but by degrees have loſt more and more ſtill, of which ſome have made themſelves perfectly free, others have ſurrender'd themſelves to *Barbarians*, and others have been almoſt quite deſerted: all which I will demonſtrate in the progreſs of this Hiſtory as they ſeverally happened.

But

But to return from whence I have digreſs'd.- When this Peace was made with the *Perſians* in the manner that I have told you, *Jovianus* the Emperor and his Army were coming home ſecurely, but met with many difficulties through the roughneſs of the Way and want of Water, beſides his loſs of many Men in the Enemies Country through which he paſs'd; wherefore he ſent *Mauricius*, a Tribune, and commanded him to bring Proviſions for his Army from *Niſibis*, and meet 'em with it as far off as he could. He alſo ſent others into *Italy* to tell of *Julian*'s death and how he himſelf was declared Emperor. And when he was come with a great deal of pains and much ado near unto *Niſibis*, he would not go into the Town becauſe it was ſurrender'd to the Enemy, but lay all night in a *Piazza* before the Gate, and the next morning receiv'd the Crowns and Complements that were offer'd to him, whilſt all the Townſmen beſought him, that he would not forſake them, and force 'em to degenerate into Barbariſm, who for ſo many Ages had lived under the *Roman* Laws. Beſides, they told him it was a diſhonour to him, that *Conſtantius*, who had been engaged in three *Perſian* Wars and was defeated in every one of 'em, had notwithſtanding

ing always protected *Nisibis*, and even when it was beſieged and in extream danger, done all he could to ſave it, and yet that he, when there was no ſuch neceſſity for it, ſhould give up the City to the Enemy, and ſhew the *Romans* ſuch a day, as they had never ſeen before, as being forced to ſuffer ſuch a Town and ſuch a Country to be ſurrender'd to an Enemy. Which when the Emperor heard, he excuſed his not complying with their deſires by telling 'em what Articles he had enter'd into: and then *Sabinus*, who was the chief Man of their Council [their Recorder] went on with what the People had ſaid before by way of Petition, and told him farther, That they wanted neither Money to carry on a War againſt *Perſia*, nor any forein Aid, but that they were able with their own Bodies and their own Purſes to defend themſelves from any War that ſhould be waged againſt 'em: and likewiſe aſſur'd him, that whenever they were Victorious and had regain'd their Liberty, they would again be ſubject to the *Romans* and obey their Commands as formerly they had done. To which when the Emperor reply'd, that he could not break his Covenants, the Townſmen beg'd of him a thouſand times that he would

not

not deprive the *Roman* Empire of ſuch a Bulwark as that was. But all was in vain, and away the Emperor went in a fury; whilſt the *Perſians* deſired to have poſſeſſion of the Countreys, Caſtles, and of that City according to the Conditions agreed upon. And thereupon the Inhabitants of ſome Countreys and Caſtles, that could not privately eſcape, let the *Perſians* do with them what they pleaſed; but the *Niſibini*, having gained ſome time to prepare for their removal, they went, moſt of 'em, to *Amida*, though ſome few inhabited in other Towns. But all places were full of lamentation and mourning, becauſe they thought themſelves expoſed to the incurſions of the *Perſians*, now *Niſibis* was ſurrender'd to them. And among others the *Carreni* were ſo ſorry when they heard of *Julian*'s death, that they ſtoned him to death who brought the news, and threw a great heap of Stones upon his Carcaſs; ſo great an alteration of Affairs was one mans death then able to create.

But *Jovianus* therefore march'd through the Towns with all ſpeed, becauſe they were ſo full of grief that they could not give him one pleaſant look, (which is the cuſtom and nature of thoſe People) and taking

taking along with him as many Soldiers as belong'd to the Imperial Guard, he went to *Antioch*; whilſt the whole Army attended upon *Julian*'s Body, which was carry'd into *Cilicia* and buried in a Royal Sepulchre in the Suburbs of *Tarſus*; upon whoſe Tombſtone there is this Inſcription;

Julian *has* Tigris *left and here he lies*
A Warlike Prince, juſt, valiant, and wiſe.

And now *Jovian*, being mindful of his Imperial Affairs, diſpoſed of other matters, and among the reſt ſent *Lucillianus* his Father in law, *Procopius*, and *Valentinian* (who was afterward Emperor) to the Armies in *Pannonia*; to tell 'em of *Julian*'s Death, and how that he was choſen Emperor. But the *Batavi* that were at *Sirmium*, and were left there for a Guard to it, as ſoon as they heard the news, they kill'd *Lucillianus* who brought 'em ſuch ill tidings, without any regard to that Relation which he had to the Emperor. But they let *Procopius* go untouch'd, out of the reſpect they bore to *Julian*'s Kindred; whilſt *Valentinian* made his eſcape and deliver'd himſelf from that Death, which they intended to inflict

upon him. But when *Jovianus* was going from *Antioch* toward *Conſtantinople*, he was taken ſick of a ſudden at *Dadaſtana* in *Bithynia*, and died after he had been Emperor onely eight months; in which ſo ſhort a time he was not able to do any ſignal Service to the publick. And when he was dead, there was a Conſultation propoſed, concerning who ſhould be his Succeſſor, which occaſion'd a great variety of Diſcourſe and of ſeveral Perſons, among the Soldiers as well as Officers; till at length they all with one accord pitch'd upon *Saluſtius*, Prefect of the Court. But he pretending he was too old and therefore could not ſerve 'em in thoſe their ill circumſtances, they deſired his Son might be Emperor in his ſtead. But he told 'em, that his Son was young, and upon that as well as other accounts unfit to undergo the weight of an Imperial Diadem; ſo that they miſſed the choice of ſuch a Man, who was the beſt in that Age. Upon which reaſon they voted for *Valentinian*, who was born at *Cibalis*, in *Pannonia*, and an excellent Souldier but no Scholar at all. However they ſent for him, being then at ſome diſtance; nor did the Common-wealth long want an Head.

Head. And when he came to the Army at *Nicea* in *Bithynia*, he there took upon him the Imperial Authority, and march'd forward.

A New

HISTORY.

Written by

Count *ZOSIMUS*,

Sometime Advocate of the Treasury.

The Fourth Book.

HOW things were managed until *Jovians* death, after whom *Valentinian* was chosen Emperor, you may find in the foregoing Book; [but we have not yet inform'd you, that] whilst *Valentinian* was on his way toward *Constantinople*, he fell sick of a Distemper, which to his native, cholerick humour added much cruelty and even madness it

ſelf; inſomuch that he, though falſly, ſuſpected the reaſon of his Illneſs to proceed from ſome Charm or Poiſon that *Julian*'s friends had out of malice prepar'd. And upon that ground there were Accuſations drawn up againſt ſome great Men, which the Prefect of the Court, who as yet was *Saluſtius*, by his diſcretion and prudence took off. But after his Diſtemper abated he left *Nicæa* and came to *Conſtantinople*. Where when the Army and his other friends adviſed him to chooſe himſelf a Partner in the Empire, that if there ſhould be occaſion, he might have ſome body to aſſiſt him, and not let them ſuffer as they did at *Julian*'s death; he took their Counſel, and having conſider'd of it, choſe, among all that he could think of, his Brother *Valens*, who, he thought, would prove moſt faithful to him. Him, therefore he declared his Partner in the Empire. And whilſt they both lived at *Conſtantinople*, all thoſe who were Enemies to *Julian*'s friends, continually gave out at Court, that ſuch and ſuch Perſons had a Deſign upon the Emperors, and made the brutiſh Rabble alſo roar it out. Upon which the Emperors, who for other reaſons hated all *Julian*'s Acquaintance, were raiſed to a greater degree of animoſity, and therefore invented ſuch Charges againſt

againſt 'em, as had no ſhew of reaſon in them. Particularly, *Valentinian* was very ſevere upon *Maximus* the Philoſopher, who had formerly indicted him, in *Julian*'s time, for prophaning or neglecting holy things upon the ſcore of Chriſtianity. But their care and concernment for Affairs both Civil and Military at that time drew 'em off from theſe kind of things.

Then did they apply themſelves to making of Governors over the ſeveral Nations, and conſulted who ſhould have the charge of the Palace. By which means all who had been Governors of Countries, or in any other Office under *Julian* were turned out: among them, *Saluſtius*, Preſect of the Court. Onely *Arintheus* and *Victor* continued in their Military Commands, which they had before, as Captains, whilſt others who had a deſire for this or that preferment, got it by mere chance. And this indeed was the onely reaſonable thing which they ſeemed to do; for if any of the Officers were found guilty upon juſt Informations againſt 'em, they ſuffer'd moſt certainly beyond all hopes of a pardon.

When things were thus ſetled, *Valentinian* thought fit, ſince he and his Brother were Partners, to put the Eaſt Countries

as far as *Egypt*, *Bithynia*, and *Thrace* under his care, and take charge of *Illyricum* himself. From whence he design'd to go over into *Italy*, and to keep all the Cities there, together with the Nations beyond the *Alps*, all *Spain*, *Britain*, and *Africa* in his own hands. And when the Empire was thus divided *Valentinian* began to be more severe in his Government, correcting the Errours of the several Magistrates, being very rigorous in collecting the Taxes, and seeing that the Soldiers had their due out of 'em. But because he resolv'd likewise to set forth certain Laws, he began at home (as they say) and forbad the nocturnal Sacrifices: intending thereby to restrain and hinder a great many ill actions. And yet when *Prætextatus*, Proconsul of *Greece*, who was a person adorn'd with all Virtues, told him that the *Greeks* could never live under such a Law, whereby they were kept from performing those most Sacred Mysteries, that were the very bond of humane Society, he suffer'd 'em to be perform'd according to Order, without any regard to his own Law, and took care every thing should be done after the ancient custom of the Country.

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In the mean time the *Barbarians* beyond the *Rhine*, who as long as *Julian* lived, ſtill fear'd the *Roman* Name, and were content to be quiet in their own Dominions, as ſoon as they heard of his Death, immediately march'd out of their Country and were prepared for a War againſt the *Romans*. Which when *Valentinian* heard, he diſpoſed of Forces both Horſe and Foot with thoſe alſo that wore light Armour, as it was fit he ſhould, and put convenient Garriſons in all the ſeveral Towns upon the *Rhine*. But theſe things were thus order'd by *Valentinian* becauſe he had ſome skill in Military Affairs: whilſt *Valens* was beſet with troubles on every ſide, who having lived an unactive life and come to the Empire of a ſudden could not ſuſtein the weight of buſineſs. For not only the *Perſians*, who were proud of their condition which was much better ſince the Truce made by them and *Jovian*, and made inroads upon the Country without controul, ſince *Niſibis* was ſubject to 'em, by diſturbing the Eaſtern Towns conſtrain'd the Emperor to go againſt 'em, and at that very time when he parted from *Conſtantinople* did the Rebellion of *Procopius* break out. For him *Julian* had truſted with ſome part of his Forces, as being akin to him, and given him charge, that

that he and *Sebaſtianus* ſhould go through *Adiabene*, and meet *Julian* who went againſt the Enemy another way: and gave him leave to wear an Imperial Robe for a reaſon that no body elſe knew of. But when it had pleas'd God to order things another way, and that *Jovian* had ſucceeded *Julian* in the Imperial Throne, *Procopius* ran immediately and delivered the Imperial Garment, that was given to him, to *Jovian*, confeſſing why he received it, and intreating the Emperor to abſolve him from his Military Oath, and let him live at quiet, that he might mind nothing elſe but Husbandry and his own private buſineſs. Which having obtain'd he went to *Ceſarea*, in *Cappadocia*, with his Wife and Children; becauſe he reſolv'd to live in that place, where he had a good Eſtate. But whilſt he ſtay'd there, *Valentinian* and *Valens* being choſen Emperors and having formerly had a ſuſpition of him, they ſent immediately to take him. Nor was there any difficulty in that, for he ſurrender'd himſelf up to 'em, and bad let 'em carry him whither they pleas'd, ſo they would but ſuffer him to ſpeak with his Wife and ſee his Children firſt. Which they conſenting to, he prepared a Feaſt for 'em, and when he ſaw they were Drunk, he and all his Family made their

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escape toward the *Euxine Sea*: whence he took shipping and went over into *Cherronesus Tauriana*. And having stay'd there some time, he found the Inhabitants to be a faithless sort of people, which made him fear, lest one time or other they would deliver him up to those that sought for him; and therefore seeing a Merchant Ship sail by, he put himself and Family on board of it and in the Night-time arrived at *Constantinople*. Where lodging at an old Acquaintant's House of his, and considering the State of the City since the Emperor's departure, he attempted to make himself Emperor, and this was the foundation of his Design.

There was a certain Eunuch, called *Eugenius*, not long before turn'd out of the Court, who had no great love for the Emperors. Him therefore *Procopius* made his friend, because he found him very Rich, and told him who he was, why he came thither and how things ought to be managed. Whereupon, the Eunuch having promised him to bear a part in all Attempts whatever, and to lend him Money, if he wanted it; the first thing they undertook was, with Money to corrupt the City-Guards, which consisted of two Legions. And then arming the Slaves and mustering up with ease a vast multi-

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tude of Men, who were many of 'em Voluntiers, they ſent 'em, in the Night, into the City, and made a general diſturbance; for that the people came every one out of their ſeveral Houſes and gazed upon *Procopius* as if he had been a King made of a ſudden in a Play. But the City being all in an uproar, and no Man in his right mind, or that could tell what to do by reaſon of the ſurpriſe, *Procopius* thought he was yet undiſcover'd by a great many, and that he might ſecure the Power to himſelf, if the buſineſs were but ſo far unreveal'd. Then having taken *Ceſarius*, whom the Emperors had made Prefect of the City, and *Nebridius*, to whom they had committed the Government of the Court after *Saluſtius*, he forced 'em to write to the Subjects of the Empire whatever he pleaſed. But he alſo kept 'em aſunder, that they might not adviſe with one another. And when he had contrived things thus, he went toward the Court in a ſplendid manner, where getting up upon a Tribunal before the Gate, he fill'd all people with hopes and large promiſes, and then march'd into the Palace to take care for the remaining part of his Affairs.

And becauſe the new Emperors had divided the Army between 'em, *Procopius* thought

thought it requiſite to ſend certain perſons to the Soldiers, who were yet in Diſorder, and went by the Emperor's Command, from place to place as they pleaſed, to bring over as many as they could to his Party. Nor did they fail with eaſe to accompliſh their Deſign, by giving Money to them and their Officers: inſomuch that they muſter'd up a conſiderable number, and made themſelves ready openly to ſet upon the Enemy. After which *Procopius* ſent *Marcellus* with an Army into *Bithynia* to take *Serenianus* and the Imperial Horſe that he had with him, in hopes to deſtroy 'em. But they flying to a Town called *Cyzicum*, *Marcellus* took it, as being too ſtrong for 'em both by Sea and Land; and having caught *Serenianus* who was fled into *Lydia*, he put him to Death. With which firſt lucky hit *Procopius* was ſo exalted that he raiſed more Men by degrees, and was able in the Opinion of many people to fight the Emperors; for both the *Roman* Legions, and the *Barbarian* Forces flock'd to him. And then beſides the very honour of being akin to *Julian*, and having been his Fellow-Soldier in all the Wars that he was ever engaged in, drew people to his Party. Nor was that all, but he likewiſe ſent certain Noble-

Noblemen to the Prince of *Scythia* which lies beyond *Ister*, who contributed ten thousand Men to fight in his service. So also did the other Barbarous Nations send in their *Quota*, to make themselves sharers in the Expedition. But yet *Procopius* consider'd that it was not fit for him to engage with both the Emperors together, and therefore thought it the best way to fight him first that was nearest, and then consult farther, what was to be done.

And thus was *Procopius* employ'd: whilst the Emperor *Valens*, who heard of this Rebellion at *Galatia* in *Phrygia* was frighted at the news and fill'd with consternation. But *Arbitio* bad him have a good heart, and then he made those Men that he had, ready for the War; and sent likewise to his Brother, to let him know what Designs *Procopius* had in hand. But *Valentinian* did not think fit to send Auxiliaries to him who was not able to defend that Empire which was committed to him. So *Valens* was fain to prepare for a fight, and made *Arbitio* General of his Army against *Procopius*. But when the Armies were just ready to engage, *Arbitio* circumvented *Procopius* by a stratagem, and brought over a great number of his

his Men, from whom he learn'd beforehand whatever *Procopius* design'd to do. And when the Emperor and *Procopius* came toward each other, the two Armies met near *Thyatira:* where *Procopius* had like to have had the better on't, and made him sole Lord of all, because *Hormisdas* (which was his Father's name too) seemed in the fight to be too many for the Enemy. But *Gomarius*, another of *Procopius*'s Captains, imparting his intention to all *Procopius*'s Soldiers that loved the Emperor, cry'd out in the midst of the fight, *Augustus*, with a shout, and gave the signal for all the rest to do the same; so that all *Procopius*'s Men went over to *Valens*.

And he as soon as he had gotten the Victory march'd to *Sardeis*, and thence into *Phrygia*, where in a Town called *Nacolia* he found *Procopius*; and there again one *Naplo*, a Captain of *Procopius*, having order'd every thing for the Emperors advantage, *Valens* had much the better of him; insomuch that he took the Traitor, and, not long after him, *Marcellus*, whom he put both to Death. But finding an Imperial Robe in *Marcellus*'s possession that was given him by *Procopius*, he was so angry at it, that he fell foul upon all and inquired after not one-

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ly those that were Actors in the Rebellion, but those also that were Counsellers in it, or so much as heard any thing of it, which they did not presently discover. By which means he was very severe upon all sorts of Men, without any justice; whilst all that either conspired or were but even kinsmen or friends of the Conspirators, though otherwise altogether innocent, were sacrificed to the Emperours fury.

Now this being the state of Affairs in that part of the Empire, which was allotted to *Valens*, the Emperor *Valentinian*, who dwelt in the Countries beyond the *Alps*, fell into very great and unexpected dangers. For all *Germany* recollecting what they had suffer'd in those Days when *Julian* was a *Cesar*, as soon as they heard of his Death, shook off all fear from their Souls, and resuming their natural audacity they went one and all and invaded the Countries that were subject to the *Roman* Empire. Where when the Emperor met 'em, they had a smart Battel, in which the *Barbarians* won the Day and put the *Roman* Army to a shameful flight. But *Valentinian* was resolv'd he would not run away to save his life; and therefore bore the fortune of the fight with seeming satisfaction, till he had found out

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who were the cauſe of their misfortune by beginning firſt to fly. And having made ſtrict enquiry ſo as at laſt to prove the *Batavian* Legion guilty of it, he order'd all the Army to come together in all their habiliments of War, as if they had been to hear ſome Speech that might have been for their inſtruction in ſome matter of conſequence. And when they came, he made ſuch an Oration to 'em, as brought perpetual ſhame upon them that began to fly; and commanded that the *Batavi* ſhould be ſtrip'd of their Arms and ſold for fugitive ſlaves to any publick Colony or Plantation. Whereupon they all fell flat upon the ground and begg'd of him not to inflict ſo ſhameful a puniſhment upon his Soldiers, promiſing that hereafter they would ſhew themſelves men and worthy of the *Roman* Name. To which he comply'd, and bid 'em ſhew by their actions, they meant what they ſaid; whilſt they aroſe from the Earth, and arming themſelves, as they ought to do, they renew'd the fight, and going without the Trench ſhew'd ſuch alacrity and courage, that of an infinite number of *Barbarians* there were but few went home again. And thus the War againſt all *Germany* ended at that time.

But the Emperor *Valens*, having put many men to death after *Procopius*'s death and confiſcated the goods of many more, was hinder'd from his expedition into *Perſia* by a party of *Scythians*, that live beyond the *Iſter*, who infeſted the *Roman* Territories. Againſt whom he ſent out a competent number of men and ſtopp'd their progreſs; nor onely ſo, but forced 'em to ſurrender their Arms, and ſent 'em to inhabit in ſeveral Towns of his, that lie upon the *Iſter*: with Orders, that they ſhould be kept in a Priſon without Chains. Now theſe were the Men that the *Scythian* Prince had ſent *Procopius* as Auxiliaries to him, and therefore when he deſired of the Emperor that they might be diſmiſs'd, becauſe they were ſent at the requeſt of Embaſſadors from him who had then the power in his hands, the Emperor *Valens* would by no means hearken to it. For, he ſaid, they were neither ſent to him nor taken as friends, but as Enemies: which was the cauſe of the *Scythian* War. But when the Emperor perceiv'd the Enemy had ſome thoughts of invading the *Roman* Dominions, and that upon the ſame account they were muſter'd up together with all ſpeed, he drew his Army up along the bank of *Iſter*, and lying himſelf at *Marcianople* (which is the biggeſt City in

in all *Thrace*) he took care both of his Armies being well exercised, and also that they wanted no provisions. At which time also he made *Auxonius* Prefect of the Court, *Salustius* having leave to lay down his Commission by reason of his Age, after he had been twice in that same Office. *Auxonius* therefore, though such a dangerous War was at hand, was not onely just in collecting the Tributes, and seeing that no Man was oppress'd beyond what was his right and due to pay; but he likewise got a great many Ships of burthen, wherein he carry'd the Soldiers provisions through the *Euxine* Sea as far as the mouth of the *Ister*, and thence by Boats convey'd it to the several Towns upon the Riverside, so that the Army might easily be supply'd.

But after these things were thus transacted in the Winter-time, the Emperor in the beginning of the Spring march'd out of *Marcianople*, and going over into the Enemies Country with those Soldiers, that were engarison'd about the *Ister*, he attaqued the *Barbarians*. But they not daring to fight a pitch'd Battel, absconded themselves in the Fenns, from whence they made secret sallies; and therefore he ordered his Men to stand their ground, whilst he muster'd up all the Servants a-

bout the Camp, with all those that had the charge of the Carriages, and promised to give that Man such a sum of Money who brought him the head of a *Barbarian*. Whereupon they were all in hopes to get the Money; and going into the Fenns and the Woods kill'd all they met, and bringing the heads of those that were slain receiv'd the Sum appointed. By which means there were such a multitude destroy'd, that the rest petition'd the Emperor for a Truce. Nor did he reject their desire, but a Peace was made between them, which was no dishonour to the *Roman* Name. For it was agreed that the *Romans* should enjoy with all security whatever they formerly had, and the *Barbarians* were forbid to pass the River or come at all into the *Roman* Dominions.

Having made this Peace, he went to *Constantinople*, where seeing the Prefect of the Court was dead, he gave *Modestus* the Place; and when he had so done, made haste toward the War in *Persia*.

But whilst he was employ'd in his preparations for that, the Emperor *Valentinian*, having put the *German* Affairs into a good posture, thought fit to make provision for the future security of the *Celtick* Countries. To which end he raised a vast multitude of young Men both of the

Barbarians

Barbarians near the *Rhine* and of the Husbandmen that lived in Countries subject to the *Romans*; all whom he muster'd among the Legionary Soldiers, and disciplin'd them so well, that out of meer dread of that skill and experience in military Affairs, there was not one of all those who live beyond the *Rhine*, who durst attempt the Cities which were under the *Romans*, for nine years together; About which time one *Valentinian* was banish'd for some misdemeanours into the Island of *Britain*, where whilst he endeavoured to make himself absolute, he lost his hopes and his life together. And *Valentinian* the Emperor also fell sick of a Distemper, which had like to have cost him his life: but yet he recover'd, and then the Courtiers came about him, desiring that he would declare who should be his Successor, lest any thing should happen to befall him, and thereby the Commonwealth be endamaged. To whom the Emperor assented, and declared his Son *Gratianus* Emperor and his Partner in the Government, though he were young, and not yet ripe of Age.

But the Affairs of the West being in this condition, the Emperor *Valens* prepared to go for the East against the *Persians*,

whither he was first bound. And as he went gently onward, he assisted the Towns that sent Embassadors to him as much as was convenient: besides his doing many other good actions, and easily granting their requests to all such as made just Demands. And when he came to *Antioch* he order'd all matters relating to the War with great caution and security; but having stay'd the Winter-season in the Palace there, he went in the Spring to *Hierapolis*; from whence he led his Army against the *Persians*, and when Winter came again return'd to *Antioch*. And thus was the War against the *Persians* protracted. But whilst the Emperor was at *Antioch*, there happen'd an unusual accident which was this. There was one *Theodorus* among the rest of the Imperial Notaries, a Person well born and bred, but very young and easily drawn into Vice by the glavering delusions of dissembling Knaves, as being in the heat and vigour of his Age. Him therefore did a parcel of such Fellows set upon, and persuaded him that they were excellent Scholars; particularly that, by their skill in Divination, which they very well understood, they could foretell things to come; and having enquired who should be Emperor after *Valens*, they had

had ſet up a Tripos, which in a ſecret manner revealed to them what was to come: and furthermore, that in that Tripos there appear'd the Letters Θ. ε o. and Δ [i.e. *Theod.*] which did as good as ſay in plain terms that *Theodorus* ſhould ſucceed *Valens* in the Empire.

With theſe fooleries he was ſo taken, that he was mighty deſirous to be continually converſant with Juglers and Conjurers, conſulting what was to be done; but was complain'd of to the Emperor, who made him ſuffer for it according to his deſert. After which there was alſo another accident. One *Fortunatianus*, who was the Emperors Treaſurer, had ſentenced one of his Soldiers to be whip'd for Sorcery; who having been put to the Torture and forced to accuſe ſome others that were his Accomplices, the Trial was removed before *Modeſtus* who was Prefect of the Court, becauſe there were ſome perſons brought in, that were not ſubject to the former Judges juriſdiction. For Juſtice and Judgment take place among all ſorts of Men; and the Emperor, who was extreamly incenſed, ſuſpected all the moſt famous Philoſophers, or any other perſons that were bred up to Learning, beſides ſome Men of Quality in the Court, who were accus'd as Conſpirators againſt

the Empire. And upon this score all places were full of weeping and lamentation; for all the Prisons were cram'd with Men that did not deserve to be in them, and there were more Men upon the Roads, than were left in the Cities. Nay, the very Guards that were set to keep the Prisons where such poor Innocents lay, confest themselves unable to secure those that were under their charge, and were affraid lest they should one time or other escape from 'em by meer force, they were so many. And in this case the Informers went off without any danger, being onely forced to accuse others; whilst the convicted were sometimes put to death without lawful proof, and some of 'em lost their Estates, insomuch that their Wives, Children, and other Relations were reduced to extream necessity. For the Design was by these several wicked arts to raise a great sum of Money for the Treasury. Now the first great Philosopher that was taken off, was *Maximus*; and after him *Hilarius* of *Phrygia*, who had plainly interpreted some obscure Oracle, with *Simonides*, *Patricius* the *Lydian*, and *Andronicus* of *Caria*, who were all men of incomparable Learning, and condemn'd rather out of envy than by any just proceeding. Whereby all things were in so great a confusion, that

that the Informers and the Rabble along with 'em would go without controul into any mans Houſe, riſle all they met, and deliver 'em to thoſe that were appointed to kill 'em all without hearing what they could ſay for themſelves. And of theſe Rogues one *Feſtus* was the Ring-leader, whom the Emperor, knowing to be very ready at all kind of cruelty, had ſent Proconſul into *Aſia*, that no learned Man might be left alive, but his Deſign might ſucceed. For *Feſtus* having made what ſearch he could, kill'd all that he found without any tryal of 'em, and forced the reſt to fly their Country.

Now the calamity which befell the Cities upon the account of *Theodorus* was thus removed. Whilſt *Valentinian* who thought he had pretty well managed the *German* War, was very ſevere upon his Subjects, in exacting of Tributes, and extorting from 'em much more than ever they uſed to pay. Though he pretended that the Military expences forced him to lay out Money from the publick Stock. And thus having cauſed every body to hate him, he was more bitter than before: nor would he either inquire whether the Magiſtrates kept themſelves from bribery, but envy'd all that had the reputation of leading a blameleſs life. And, to ſpeak plainly,

plainly, he was quite another man from what he appear'd to be at the beginning of his Reign. For which cauſe the *Africans* who could not endure the Avarice of that *Roman* who was the *Magiſter Militum*, [Maſter of the Soldiery or General] among the *Moors*, they gave the Purple Robe to *Firmus* and declared him to be Emperor. Which being told, no doubt but it troubled *Valentinian*: who immediately commanded certain Legions from the Gariſons in *Pannonia* and *Myſia* to ſail into *Africa*. And thereupon the *Sarmatians* with the *Quadi*, who were long before offended with him that had the charge of thoſe places (whoſe name was *Celeſtius*) when the Soldiers were gone over into *Africa*, invaded the *Pannonians* and the *Myſians*. For ſince *Celeſtius* had broken his Oath and not onely deceiv'd, but kill'd their Prince by treachery, before they roſe from Table, the *Barbarians* very wiſely took the opportunity of this Expedition and plunder'd all the Country about the *Iſter*, carrying all away that they found out of the Cities, or Towns. By which means the *Pannonians* were expoſed to the *Barbarian* cruelty, whilſt the Soldiers were very negligent in defending their Towns, and did as much damage as the *Barbarians* themſelves

ſelves to all places within the River. But *Myſia* ſuffer'd no injury, becauſe *Theodoſius*, who was the *Magiſter Militum*, ſo valiantly withſtood 'em and routed 'em when they came againſt him. And from that Victory he got not only gain'd great Honour, but afterward came to be Emperor. But of that we ſhall ſpeak in due time.

But *Valentinian*, not able to endure the news which he heard, march'd out of *Celtica* into *Illyricum*, with a Deſign to make War upon the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*; and made *Merobaudes*, who ſeemed to have more experience in Military Affairs than any other, General of his whole Army. But ſeeing that the Winter weather laſted a little longer than ordinary, the *Quadi* ſent Embaſſadors to him with ſuch inſtructions as were not modeſt or becoming: at which the Emperor was ſo angry, that being almoſt mad the blood came down from his head, into his mouth and ſtop'd his breath, ſo that he died, after he had lived in *Illyricum* nine months wanting ſome few days, and in the twelfth year of his Reign.

When he was dead a Thunderbolt fell upon *Sirmium* which burnt both the Palace and the Market-place, and ſeemed to ſuch as are Critical Judges of thoſe things to be

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an ill Omen concerning publick Affairs. There also happen'd Earthquakes in some places; and *Crete was* shaken very much as likewise *Peloponnesus* and all *Greece*, so that many places were ruin'd by it, yea almost all tumbled down, except *Athens* and the Country of *Attica*, which they say were saved by this means. *Nestorius*, who at that time was the chief Sacrist there, saw a Vision that commanded him to pay publick Honours to that *Heroe*, *Achilles*: for it would be a safeguard to the City. But he having communicated this to the Magistrates of the City, they thought he was so old, as to doat, and regarded not what he said, wherefore he consider'd of it within himself, and receiving instructions from Divine Contemplations, he set up the Heroes Image which he made in a small House under the Statue of *Minerva* which was placed in the Virgin-Chamber. And as often as he did sacrifice to the Goddess, he at the same time duly perform'd what belong'd to the Heroe. And by this means having satisfied the desire of the Vision, the *Athenians* were free from the Earthquake which fell upon every body else excepting onely the Country of *Attica* which partook of the Heroes kindness. Now that this is

true

true you may read in *Syrianus* the Philoſopher, who has written an Hymn upon this Heroe. And theſe things I thought fit to add as not altogether impertinent to our preſent buſineſs.

But now that *Valentinian* was dead, and *Merobaudes* and *Equitius*, two Tribunes, ſaw *Valens* and *Gratian* lived then at a great diſtance (for the one was in the Eaſt, and the other left by his Father in the Weſt of *Gaul*) they fear'd leſt it ſhould ſo fall out, that the *Barbarians* beyond *Iſter* might make ſome effort whilſt the Country was without a Governour, and therefore ſent for *Valentinian*'s younger Son, whom he had by his Wife, that was *Magnentius*'s Widow, and not far off with the Child. Whom when they had cloth'd in Purple they brought him into the Court, being ſcarce five years of Age. And when it came to paſs that *Gratian* and this young *Valentinian* divided the Empire between 'em, according to their diſcretion who were their Guardians or Protectors (for they were not of age to manage their own Affairs) the *Celtick* Countries, all *Spain* and the Iſland of *Britain* was given to *Gratianus*, and *Valentinian* was to have all *Italy*, *Illyricum*, and *Africa*. Whilſt in the mean time many innundations of Wars oreflow'd the Emperor *Valens* from all parts.

Of

Of which the first were, the *Isauri* (who are by some called *Pisidæ*, by others *Solymi*, and by others *Cilices montani* or *Mountain Cilicians*, of whom we will speak more accurately when we come to the proper place for it) who plunder'd the Towns in *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, and though they could not get possession of the Walls and Houses, yet they took away all that was in the Streets, or Fields. But the Emperor who was yet at *Antioch*, sent a sufficient number of Men (as he thought) against 'em, and then the *Isauri* fled with all their spoils into the craggy Mountains, where the Soldiers were either so lazy as not to follow 'em, or otherwise unable to remedy those misfortunes which the several Towns had undergone.

But whilst these things were thus managed, a certain barbarous Nation, which was never known till then, but appear'd all of a sudden, attaqued the *Scythians* beyond *Ister*. They are called *Hunni*, [and we know not] whether you may say, they were *Scythians*, that lived under a Kingly Government, or those whom *Herodotus* says lived near the *Ister*, and were a sort of flat-nosed, weak people, or whether they came out of *Asia* into *Europe*. For I have read a Story that tells us, The *Cimmerian Bosphorus* was made firm ground by

by mud brought down the *Tanais* and afforded them a Land-paſſage over out of *Aſia* into *Europe*. But however, these they were, with their Wives, Children, Horſes and Carriages, and invaded the *Scythians* that live upon the *Iſter*: and though they neither could nor underſtood how to fight on foot (for how ſhould they? when they are not able to ſet their feet firm upon the earth, but live continually, nay ſleep on Horſe-back) yet by their wheeling about upon their Horſes, by their excurſions, and timely retreats, and by ſhooting as they rode, they made a great ſlaughter among the *Scythians*. And this they did ſo continually, that the ſurviving *Scythians* were forced to leave their Habitations to theſe *Hunni*, and paſſing over the *Iſter* to go and beſeech the Emperor to receive 'em, upon their promiſe to be his true and faithful Fellow-Soldiers. Which petition of theirs ſeeing the Officers of Gariſon Towns near the *Iſter* deliberated upon till the Emperors pleaſure was known, *Valens* permitted them to be received but without their Arms. In order whereunto the Tribunes, and other Commanders went over to fetch the *Barbarians* unarm'd into the *Roman* Territories: but ſpent their time onely in looking after handſom Wenches, hunting out pret-

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ty Boys for beaſtly uſes, or making themſelves maſters of Slaves and Country hinds (for they minded nothing that concern'd the publick good) ſo that a great many paſs'd over with their Arms, through meer negligence; who as ſoon as they were got into the *Roman* Dominions, remember'd neither their Petitions nor their Oaths, but fill'd all *Thrace*, *Pannonia* and the whole Country as far as *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, with *Barbarians* that pillaged all before 'em.

When therefore they were in ſuch extremity of danger, certain perſons went to the Emperor and told him what had happen'd. Whereupon having ſetled his Affairs in *Perſia* as well as he could, he made haſte from *Antioch* and went for *Conſtantinople*: from whence he march'd into *Thrace* to fight thoſe fugitive *Scythians*. But as the Army and the Emperor himſelf were going forth, they ſaw a ſtrange ſight, which was this. There was the body of a Man lying in the Rode, ſtone-ſtill, that look'd as if it had been whip'd from head to heel, onely its eyes were open, and ſtared upon all that came near it. Of whom when they had demanded, What he was, and whence he came, or who had ſlaſh'd him ſo, and receiv'd no anſwer; they thought it ſome pro-

prodigious thing and ſhew'd him to the Emperor as he paſſed by. Who though he ask'd it the ſame queſtions, yet it remain'd ſpeechleſs; nor could it be thought a living creature becauſe it was void of all motion, or quite dead, becauſe the Eyes were ſeemingly well. At laſt it vaniſh'd of a ſudden. Which when the ſtanders-by beheld they could not tell what to think; but thoſe, that have skill in ſuch things, ſaid, it foretold the future State of the Empire, That the Commonwealth ſhould look as if it were beaten and whip'd, like thoſe that are juſt expiring, till by the ill-management of Magiſtrates and Miniſters it were quite dead. And indeed if we conſider every thing, this prediction will appear to be true.

But the Emperor *Valens* ſeeing the *Scythians* plunder all *Thrace*, reſolv'd to ſend thoſe men whom he had brought along with him out of the Eaſt, and knew to be very good at fighting on Horſe-back, to make the firſt charge upon the *Scythian* Horſe. They therefore having receiv'd the Word from the Emperor went in ſmall numbers out of the Gates of *Conſtantinople*, and killing the ſtraggling *Scythians* with their Spears, brought many of their Heads each day into the City. And becauſe the nimbleneſs of their Horſes,

together with the force of their Spears made the *Scythians* think it hard to overcome them, they intended to circumvent the *Saracens* by a ſtratagem, which was thus: They planted Ambuſcades in ſeveral places of three *Scythians* to one *Saracen*: but failed of their Deſign; for that the *Saracens* through the ſwiftneſs and agility of their Horſes could get away whenever they ſaw any conſiderable number of them acoming. But if they came up to 'em ſoftly, and hit 'em with their Spears, they commonly made ſuch a ſlaughter among the *Scythians*, that at laſt they choſe rather to paſs the *Iſter*, ſince they deſpair'd of doing any good of it, and ſurrender themſelves to the *Hunni*, than be all knock'd on the head by the *Saracens*. When therefore they forſook all the places near *Conſtantinople*, and were gone farther into the Country, the Emperor had room to draw his Army forward. But whilſt he ſtood conſidering how he ſhould manage the War (when ſuch a multitude of *Barbarians* were at hand, and the ill conduct of his own Officers gave him ſuch trouble, that as he was affraid to caſheer 'em in ſuch tempeſtuous circumſtances; ſo alſo he was doubtful who he ſhould put in their places, ſince no one appear'd that was fit for ſuch employments) *Sebaſtianus*

nus left the West (though the Emperors there did not understand how things went by reason of their nonage, but gave themselves wholly up to hearing of Calumnies from the Eunuchs that attended in their Chambers) and came to *Constantinople*. Which when *Valens* heard of, and was satisfied how skilful a person he was both in military and civil Affairs, he made him General, and trusted him with the management of the whole War. Whereupon *Sebastianus* considering the effeminacy and sluggishness of the Tribunes as well as the Soldiers, how that they were bred and taught onely to run away, and to desire things that were base and more fit for Women than Men to wish for, He beg'd that he might have but two thousand Men of his own choosing. For he knew it was a difficult matter to command a multitude of men that had been dissolutely govern'd, though it was easie enough to teach a small number, and reclaim 'em from their effeminacy into manhood: besides that it was more expedient to run the risque of a few than of all. By which Arguments having perswaded the Emperor and obtain'd his desire, He took not such who had been bred up in cowardice and used to run away, but a

party of men that had been lately taken into the Army, who were lusty hale Fellows, and seemed to him who could judg of men, to be fit for any service. He therefore presently made trial of each one among 'em, and what was wanting he supply'd by continual exercise, commending and rewarding all those that were obedient, but seeming severe and inexorable to all that were disobedient. And when he had by this means taught 'em all military Art, he took possession of certain walled Towns, as having a great regard to the safety of his Army. But from thence he attaqued the *Barbarians* by frequent Ambuscades as they came out to forage: and sometime when they were loaden with Spoils he kill'd 'em, and made himself Master of what they had; and at other times destroy'd 'em whilst they were Drunk or washing in the River.

But when he had taken off a great part of the *Barbarians* by these methods, and that the rest were so much affraid of him that they durst not come to forage, he was extraordinarily envied. And that envy beg[illegible] an hatred of him, till [illegible]length he was accused before the Emperor by those that had lost their Commands, and therefore set the Court Eunuchs on to do him

him a diskindneſs. And by this means the Emperor being perverted into an unreaſonable ſuſpicion of him, *Sebaſtianus* ſent the Emperor word, that he would have him ſtay where he was and not march forward: For that it was no eaſie matter to come to a pitch'd Battel with ſuch a vaſt number of men; but it was better to protract the time by circumventions and Ambuſcades till they deſpair'd for want of neceſſaries, and either ſurrender'd themſelves, or departed out of the *Roman* Territories and put themſelves under the *Hunns* rather than be expoſed to all that miſery and deſtruction which does attend a Famine. But whilſt he adviſed the Emperor to this, the adverſe party perſuaded him, to march forth with his whole Army: for that the *Barbarians* were almoſt all deſtroy'd, and the Emperor might gain a Victory without any trouble. And this counſel of theirs though it were the worſe of the two ſo far prevailed, that (as ill fortune would have it) the Emperor drew forth his whole Army without any order at all. Which when the *Barbarians* boldly met they got the better of it by far and kill'd almoſt all of 'em, except ſome few, with whom the Emperor fled into an unwalled Village; about which the *Barbarians* piled Wood

and setting fire to it burnt all that ran thither together with the Inhabitants, in such a manner that no one could ever find the Emperor's body.

Now when Affairs were reduced to this low ebb, *Victor* who commanded the *Roman* Horse, escaping the danger along with some of the Horse, went into *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*, and from thence making an excursion into *Mysia* and *Pannonia*, he told *Gratian*, who then lay thereabout, how things had fallen out, as also of the loss both of the Emperor and the Army. Which *Gratian* heard with patience, and was not much concern'd for his Uncles Death (for there had been a grudg between them two) but seeing himself unable to manage his Affairs, since *Thrace* was over-run by the *Barbarians*, as likewise *Mysia* and *Pannonia*, and that the barbarous Nations upon the *Rhine* infested the Neighbouring Towns without controul, he chose *Theodosius* to be his Partner in the Empire, who was born at a Town called *Cauca*, in that part of *Spain* called *Hispania Callæcia*, and had good skill as well as experience in Military Affairs. And having made him Governour of *Thrace* and of the East Countries, He went himself into the West of *Gallia*, to compose things there if it were possible.

Whilst

Whilſt therefore the new Emperor *Theodoſius* remain'd at *Theſſalonica*, there was a great concourſe of people from all parts that flock'd thither both upon private and publick buſineſs, and having obtain'd of him as much as it was fit for him to grant, went away again. But ſince a great multitude of the *Scythians* that lived beyond the *Iſter* (I mean the *Gotthi*, and the *Taiphali*, and the reſt of thoſe Nations which formerly lived among 'em) had paſſed the River, and were forced to infeſt the *Roman* Dominions, becauſe the *Hunni* had gotten into their Country, the Emperor *Theodoſius* prepared for a War with all his Forces. But ſeeing all *Thrace* was in the hands of the aforeſaid Nations, and thoſe that guarded the Towns and Caſtles there durſt not move out of their Walls, much leſs engage in the open field, *Modares*, who was of the Royal Family of *Scythia*, and had not long before come over to the *Romans*, who, for his fidelity to 'em, had made him *Magiſter Militum* [*i. e.* a General] having drawn the Soldiers to the top of an Hill which was even and plain like a Meadow, of a great length, with ſpatious fields at the bottom of it, he lay there unknown to the *Barbarians*. And underſtanding by his Scouts that all the Enemies were in the fields below, luxu-

riously wasting and destroying all the forage and provisions that they found either in the Fields or in the unwalled Villages, so that they lay there Drunk, he commanded his Soldiers so as not to be heard by the Enemy, to go with their Swords and Bucklers onely, without their heavy Armour or joyning of their Shields together, as they used, and set upon the *Barbarians* whilst they were drown'd in pleasure. Which they accordingly having done, in one small part of a Day kill'd every one of 'em; among whom some were never sensible who hurt 'em, others just felt their Wound and died, and the rest were taken off by several sorts of Death. And afterward when they were all slain, they fell to rifling the Dead, from whence they proceeded to the Women and Children, and took four thousand Waggons and as many Captives as may probably ride in so many Carriages, besides them that went on foot and only rode now and then (as 'tis usual) by turns, to ease themselves.

Thus when the Army had made use of all that Fortune offer'd to it, the Affairs of *Thrace*, which had been upon the very brink of ruin, were then at rest, since the *Barbarians* there were destroy'd beyond all hopes. But the Dominions of the

the East had like to have utterly been ruined by this means: After the *Hunns* had invaded the Nations beyond *Ister* (as I have told you) and that the *Scythians* could not withstand their incursions, they beg'd of the Emperor *Valens* who was then in being, that he would take 'em into *Thrace*, and they would do all the Duties of Fellow-Soldiers and good Subjects, in perfect obedience to all his Commands. With which Promise of theirs *Valens* was so far perswaded as to admit 'em: and thinking it would be a sufficient caution for their fidelity if he caus'd all their Children who were yet very young to be brought up in another Country, he sent a great number of little Brats into the East, and made *Julius* the Overseer both of their Education and keeping, because he thought him sufficiently qualified with understanding for both those Offices. He therefore distributed them into several Towns, lest the *Barbarian* Youth, being such a vast number together, might have any opportunity to rebel or being out of their own Country, to form a Conspiracy. Now the news of what had befaln their Country-men in *Thrace* was brought to them whilst they lived at the several Towns and were grown to Mans estate. At which they were much troubled, and met together,

ther, as many of 'em as lived in one City, who privately ſent word to thoſe that inhabited in other places, that they had a mind to ſet upon the *Roman* Towns in revenge for what their Parents and Country-men had ſuffer'd. In the mean time *Julius* hearing of the *Barbarians* intention, and doubting what to do, though he at the ſame inſtant feared the expedite Attempts of the *Barbarians* when they were once ſet on, he reſolv'd not to let *Theodoſius* know of the Deſign, not onely becauſe he was then in *Macedonia*, but alſo becauſe this Charge was committed to him by *Valens* and not by *Theodoſius*, who was then Emperor, but yet hardly knew *Julius*: and therefore ſent Letters privately to the Senate of *Conſtantinople*, from whom having Authority to do what he thought moſt conducing to the publick good, he removed the danger that threaten'd the ſeveral Towns in this manner. He ſent for all the Military Officers and gave 'em an Oath of ſecreſie before he told 'em his Deſign. Which when they underſtood and were inſtructed what to do, they ſpread a report among all the *Barbarians* of each Town, that the Emperor had a mind to preſent 'em with large gifts, and give 'em every one not onely Money but Land too, to oblige

'em

'em to love himſelf and the *Roman* Nation. In order whereunto they bad 'em all meet at their Metropoliſes or chief Cities upon a certain Day. With which news the *Barbarians* were ſo pleaſed, that they remitted ſomething of their fury and the deſtruction which they intended to their ſeveral Cities: And upon the Day appointed they all flock'd to the places where they were order'd to meet. Where when they arrived, the Soldiers who knew the ſignal, got up upon the tops of Houſes that were near the ſeveral Market-places (where the throng of 'em was) and as the *Barbarians* came in did ſo pelt 'em with Stones and Darts that they kill'd 'em every man and freed the Eaſtern Cities from all their fears.

And thus did the ſagacity of their Officers put an end to thoſe misfortunes which happen'd both in the Eaſt and *Thrace*. Whilſt at the ſame time the Emperor *Theodoſius* living in *Theſſalonica* was very acceſſible to all that had a mind to ſee him; but having begun his Reign in pleaſure and idleneſs, he put the Magiſtracy into diſorder, and made the Military Officers more than they were before. For whereas there had been formerly but one General or Maſter of the Horſe, and one other of the Foot, he diſtributed thoſe Offices

ſices among above more than five, and thereby put the publick to greater charges for proviſions. For every one of thoſe five or more had as much allow'd him, as either of 'em had when there was but two: beſides that it was oppreſſion upon the Soldiers to be expoſed to the avarice of ſo many Officers. For every one of 'em would get as much out of the Soldiers allowance as one of two ſhould. But this was not all: for he encreaſed the number of Captains, Lieutenants and Tribunes to ſuch a degree, that he left 'em twice as many as he found 'em, nor had the Soldiers one farthing of their allowance out of the Treaſury. All which was occaſion'd by the Emperors negligence and exceſſive covetouſneſs. Nay farther, it was He that introduced ſuch a vaſt expence at the Imperial Table, that to ſerve in ſuch a quantity of proviſions and furniſh a Table ſo richly, there were whole Legions of Cooks, Butlers, and other attendants, whom if a man would reckon up he muſt ſpend a great deal of time in taking down their names. For as to the multitude of Eunuchs about the Court employ'd in the Emperors ſervice, and how moſt of 'em, eſpecially ſuch as were more beautiful than others called any Magiſtrate or Officer to account whom they pleas'd, and how

how they had in effect the ſole Government of the Empire, diſpoſing of the Emperor as they thought fit, and changing his mind to whatſoever they deſired. As to theſe things why ſhould I ſpeak much, I ſay, when I am to ſhew the particular cauſes of that deſtruction which happen'd through ſuch means. For as he would ſquander away the publick Stock without any conſideration and beſtow it upon fellows that had no worth in 'em, till he was like enough to want Money; So he ſold all Commands of Provinces to any one that would buy 'em, without any regard either to the reputation or converſation of the party, and thought him beſt qualified that brought him moſt Gold or Silver. So that you might ſee Goldſmiths and Bankers and others that are of the moſt ſordid profeſſions, with the Enſigns of Magiſtracy about 'em, and ſelling the Provinces to thoſe that had moſt Money.

And now ſince there was ſuch a change in the State and ſo much for the worſe, the Soldiery was ſoon leſſen'd, and came even to nothing at all: beſides that all the Money was gone out of the Towns, partly to pay exceſſive Taxes, and partly to ſatisfie the covetouſneſs of the Magiſtrates. For whoſoever did not endea-

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vour to pleaſe and humour their inſatiable deſire, they ſuborn'd fellows to accuſe him, and did as good as ſay, they muſt get up what they paid for their places. By which means thoſe that lived in Towns led a very miſerable life through their own poverty and the iniquity of the Magiſtrates, and onely pray'd to God to deliver 'em from ſuch afflictions; for as yet they were permitted to go in to the Temples and worſhip the Gods after their Country faſhion.

But the Emperor *Theodoſius* ſeeing the Army very much diminiſhed, permitted the *Barbarians* beyond *Iſter*, as many as would to come to him, and promiſed to make all the Fugitives, Soldiers. Upon which terms many of 'em went to him and were muſter'd among the Legions; conceiving within themſelves when they were more of 'em together, they might eaſily attaque the Government and make themſelves Lords of all. But the Emperor having taken a view of the Fugitives who were a great multitude, and more already than the other Soldiers that were there; and conſidering alſo how it were poſſible to curb 'em if they had a mind to break their promiſes of Obedience, he thought beſt to mingle ſome of 'em with thoſe Legions that were in *Egypt*;

gypt, and take a Detachment from thence to ſupply their places in his Army. Which when he had done, ſo that one party came and the other went according to the Emperor's Order, the *Egyptians* indeed march'd through the ſeveral Towns very quietly and paid for what they had, but the *Barbarians* behaved themſelves very rudely, and diſpoſed of all that was in the ſeveral Markets as they pleas'd. But when they both met at *Philadelphia*, which is a Town in *Lydia* the *Egyptians* who were far fewer than the *Barbarians* obſerv'd their Officers Orders, whilſt the *Barbarians* who exceeded them in number, pretended to a greater priviledg. And therefore when a certain Tradeſman in the Market place demanded his Money for Goods that he had ſold to a *Barbarian*, but the *Barbarian* drew his ſword and cut him, whereupon the man cry'd out, and there was another alſo hurt who came to aſſiſt him, the *Egyptians* being ſorry to ſee ſuch an ill action, they modeſtly admoniſh'd the *Barbarians* to refrain from ſuch unhandſom and unjuſt deeds; for that it did not become men that reſolv'd to live under the *Roman* Laws. But they were never the better for their advice but drew upon them too, ſo long till the *Egyptians*

tians giving way to their passion fell upon 'em, kill'd above two hundred, and wounding some of 'em compelled the rest to fly into Sinks where they died. But when the *Egyptians* had done thus to the *Barbarians* at *Philadelphia*, and persuaded them to be more modest, as being never like to want Enemies, they held on their way: and the *Barbarians* march'd toward *Egypt* whither they were bound. Now their General was *Hormisdas*, a *Persian*, the Son of that *Hormisdas*, who was with the Emperor *Julian* in the *Persian* War. But when the *Egyptians* came into *Macedonia* and were joyn'd with the Legions there, no Order was observ'd in the Camp, nor any distinction between a *Roman* and a *Barbarian*, but all conversed promiscuously together, neither was there so much as a Muster-Roll kept of the Soldiers names. Nay farther, it was permitted that the Fugitives might go back into their own Countrey, though they were listed among the Legions and send others in their stead, and when they pleas'd come again and be Soldiers under the *Romans*.

When the *Barbarians* saw such disorder in the Army (for the Fugitives inform'd 'em of it, besides the free access which they

they had to it) they thought this a fair opportunity to make an Attempt upon the *Romans*, who were ſo careleſs in the conduct of their Affairs. And therefore having paſſed the Rivet with eaſe, and march'd as far as *Macedonia* (for no body hinder'd 'em, being the Fugitives could let 'em paſs without moleſtation as far as they pleas'd) when they found that the Emperor was coming to meet 'em with all his Forces, by a great fire which they ſaw at Mid-night and gueſſed to be near the Emperor and his Retinue (which they alſo underſtood ſo to be from the Fugitives that came to 'em) they ran by the light of that fire up to the Emperor's Tent. Where being joyn'd by the Fugitives, the *Romans* onely (except ſome few fugitives that were on their ſide) oppoſed 'em. Yet being ſo few againſt ſo many, they made indeed a ſhift to give the Emperor time to eſcape, but themſelves were all ſlain; not but that they fought bravely and kill'd a great multitude of the *Barbarians*. Upon which occaſion if the *Barbarians* had follow'd their blow, and purſu'd thoſe that fled away with the Emperor, they had certainly vanquiſh'd 'em every man upon the firſt attempt. But being ſatisfied with what they had won, and made themſelves Maſters of *Macedo-*

nia and *Theſſaly*, which no body guarded, they left the Towns to their own liberty, and did 'em no damage, out of hopes to have a Tribute from 'em.

But the Emperor, when he heard they were march'd home upon that account, ſecured the Caſtles and walled Towns with Guards, and went himſelf to *Conſtantinople*; having ſent Letters to the Emperor *Gratian* to tell him what had happen'd, and that it was neceſſary with all ſpeed to ſend Relief in ſuch extremity of danger. And when he had diſpatch'd away Couriers, Poſts or Letter-Carriers upon that Meſſage, he took notice of what *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly* had ſuffer'd, but made ſuch Collectors of Tribute, as were ſevere and rigid in their exactions of it: ſo that a Man might have ſeen all that which was left through the humanity of the *Barbarians*, gather'd up for Tribute. For they paid not only Money, but gave in their Womens Attire, and all their Clothes, even to that (I was going to ſay) which cover'd their nakedneſs, to ſatisfie Taxes. Inſomuch that every Town and Country was full of lamentation and tears; whilſt they all called out upon the *Barbarians* and deſired their aſſiſtance.

And

And this was the State of *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*: whilſt at the ſame time the Emperor *Theodoſius* made his entrance into *Conſtantinople* with ſplendour, as if he had Triumph'd for ſome great Victory; without any regard to the publick miſeries, but making his luxuriant pleaſures proportionable to the bigneſs of the City. But the Emperour *Gratian* being mightily troubled at the news ſent forth a ſufficient Army under the command of *Baudo*, accompanied by *Arbogaſtes*, who were both of 'em *Franks*, but loved the *Romans* very well, were free from all bribery, or covetouſneſs and wiſe as well as ſtout Soldiers. Who when they came with the Army into *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*, the *Scythians* that were there a plundering all before 'em, as ſoon as they perceiv'd the reſolution and Deſign of theſe two Men, immediately left the Country and ran back into *Thrace*, which they had formerly pillaged. Where being in doubt what to do, they made uſe of ſuch a ſtratagem as before, and endeavour'd to cheat the Emperor *Theodoſius* with the ſame trick a-

P. Diaconus ſays quite otherwiſe of him in his 12th Book. But (ſays he) thoſe things, wherewith *Theodoſius* is aſperſed, to wit, that he was a Drunkard, and very ambitious to Triumph, he ſo much abhor'd, that he wag'd none, though he found Wars; and prohibited by a Law all laſcivious actions, as alſo Minſtrels to be uſed at Feaſts. But we muſt pardon *Zoſimus* in this, becauſe with him it was the greateſt Crime meerly to be a Chriſtian.

again. For they ſent unto him Fugitives of the meaneſt rank, to promiſe him all friendſhip and obedience; whom he believing entertain'd. And therefore, leaſt his former experience ſhould have made him ſenſible of his own advantage; they were follow'd by a great many more, whom he in like manner receiv'd: till by the Emperor's folly the Fugitives had once more got the power into their own hands. And that folly of his was daily encreaſed by his voluptuous way of living; for whatſoever contributes to the debauching of good Manners receiv'd ſuch additions in his Reign, that every one who affected to be like the Emperor placed all humane happineſs in ſuch kind of things. For there were *Mimichs*, and thoſe curſed Caitiffs the Dancers, with every thing elſe that conduces to obſcenity or that laſcivious and diſſolute Muſick, which was in uſe both in his time and after; inſomuch that the Empire was utterly ruined by thoſe that imitated that ſort of folly and madneſs. Nay more, they violated the Temples of the Gods in all places, nor was it ſafe for any one to profeſs there were any Gods, much leſs to look up to Heaven and adore what they ſaw there.

But

But whilſt *Theodoſius* was thus employ'd, the Emperor *Gratian* ſent *Vitalianus* to be General of the *Illyrian* Legions, who was a Man that could not any way relieve 'em in that their languiſhing condition. And whilſt this *Vitalianus* was in Office there were two Regiments of *Germans* that lived beyond the *Rhine*, the one of which was commanded by *Fritigerne*, and the other by *Allothus* and *Safraces*, who lay ſo hard upon the *Celtick* Nations, that they forced the Emperor *Gratian* to give 'em leave that if they would quit the *Celtick* Countries they might croſs the *Iſter* and march into *Pannonia* and the upper *Myſia*: For his Deſign and endeavour was to be freed from their continual inrodes. Whereupon they paſſed the *Iſter* with an intention to go through *Pannonia* into *Epirus*, and croſſing the River *Achelous* to attaque the Cities of *Greece*; but firſt thought fit to get good ſtore of proviſions, and remove *Athanaricus* who was the chief of all the *Scythian* royal Family, that no body might be left behind 'em to hinder or obſtruct their Enterpriſe. Accordingly they ſet upon him and eaſily beat him out of the places where he lay: which made him betake himſelf with all ſpeed to *Theodoſius* who was juſt then recover'd from a Diſeaſe that had like to

have been the death of him. And *Theodosius* entertain'd very kindly both him and all his *Barbarians* that were come along with him, going out a good way from *Constantinople* to meet him. Nor was he less respectful to him afterward, but when he died (which was within a little while) he interred him in a regal Sepulchre; which was so sumptuous, that all the *Barbarians* stood amazed at the excessive richness of it, and went again into their own Country, without molesting the *Romans* any more, they so much admired the Emperors goodness and magnificence. And as many of 'em as came along with the dead Prince, continually guarded the bank of the River, lest any incursions should be made upon the *Romans*.

At the same time *Theodosius* had more good fortune still. For he beat off the *Scyri* and *Carpodaces* who were mix'd with the *Hunni*, and so subdu'd 'em that he forced 'em to cross the *Ister* and return into their own Country. From which success of the Emperor his Soldiers reassumed their courage and seemed a little to recover out of their former calamities, and the Husbandmen also had free liberty to manure the Earth, as likewise the Cattel fed without fear. And thus did *Theodo-*

sius

ſius ſeem to make up their loſſes; whilſt in the mean time *Promotus*, who was General of the Foot in *Thrace*, but at this time made uſe of Boats as well as Land-forces, met with *Ædotheus*, who had raiſed a mighty Army not onely of the Nations that live upon the *Iſter*, but ſuch as live a great way off in places unknown, and was then juſt coming with 'em over the River; where *Promotus* (I ſay) met him and made ſuch a ſlaughter among his men, that the very River was fill'd with the dead bodies, and thoſe that fell upon the Land could ſcarce be number'd.

The Affairs of *Thrace* being in this condition, made *Gratian*'s circumſtances very difficult: for he, taking the counſel of thoſe Courtiers who uſe to corrupt the manners of Princes, receiv'd certain Fugitives called *Alani*; whom he not onely liſted among his Army, but honour'd with large Preſents, and truſted with his greateſt ſecrets, not valuing his own Soldiers at all. And this begat in his Soldiers an hatred of him; which being enflamed, and augmented by degrees, incited them toward innovation, but moſt of all that part of 'em which was in the Britiſh Iſlands, as being the more reſolute and ſurly fellows. To which alſo *Maximus*, a

Spaniard, who had been the Emperor *Theodosius*'s Fellow-Soldier in *Britain*, gave 'em some farther encouragement. For he took it very ill that *Theodosius* should be thought worthy of being made Emperor, whilst he himself had no honourable Employment, and therefore incensed the Soldiers with greater animosity against the Emperor. Upon which they were easily persuaded and in a mutiny declared *Maximus*, Emperor. To whom having presented the Purple Robe and Diadem, they went by Sea as far as the mouth of the *Rhine*: Where seeing the *German* Army and all the rest that were in those parts approved the choice very well, *Gratian* prepared to fight him with a considerable part of the Army which he yet had on his side. But when they came to engage, they onely skirmish'd for five days; till *Gratian* perceiving that, first of all, the *Moorish* Horse forsook him and declared *Maximus*, *Augustus*; and then that the rest revolted to *Maximus* by little and little, he bad adieu to all good hopes, and taking along with him three hundred Horse, fled with them to the *Alps* as fast as he could. And finding those parts unguarded, he went toward *Rhetia*, *Noricum*, *Pannonia* and the upper *Mysia*. Which

when

when *Maximus* underſtood, he neglected not his opportunity, but ſent *Andragathius* General of the Horſe, who was born near the *Euxine* Sea, and always ſeemed to be his Friend, with the ſtouteſt Horſes that he had, to purſue him. And he accordingly follow'd him with ſuch ſpeed, that he overtook him as he was juſt paſſing the Bridg at *Sigidunus* and kill'd him: by which means he ſtrengthen'd *Maximus*'s Dominion.

Now it is worth while upon this occaſion to tell you a Story, not altogether forein from my preſent Narration. Among the *Romans* the Pontifices were the perſons who had the chief management of holy things: whom we may term *Gephyræi*; if we tranſlate the word *Pontifices* [which ſignifies Bridg-makers] out of *Latin* into *Greek*; and the reaſon of that appellation was this. When men as yet knew not how to worſhip by Statues, there were ſome Images of the Gods firſt made in *Theſſaly*: but becauſe there were then no Temples (for the uſe of them alſo was yet unknown) they ſet up thoſe Pictures of the Gods upon a Bridg that went croſs the River *Peneus*, and called thoſe that ſacrificed to the Gods, *Gephyræi* [Bridg Prieſts] from the place where the Images were firſt ſet up. From whence the *Romans*,

mans, who take it from the *Greeks*, called those that were the chief Priests, *Pontifices*, and made a Law that Kings, for their Honours sake, should be reckon'd among 'em. Of whom *Numa Pompilius* was the first that ever enjoy'd this Dignity; but after him all had it, not onely that were called Kings, but even *Octavianus* himself, and those who succeeded him in the *Roman* Empire. For when any one came to be Emperor the *Pontifices* [chief Priests] brought him the Priestly Habit, and presently he was stiled [*Pontifex Maximus*] or chief Priest. And indeed all other Emperors seemed very well pleased with the Honour, and were willing to use the Appellation or Title, yea even *Constantine* himself when he was Emperor [admitted of it] though he were perverted from the right way in regard to holy matters, and embraced the Christian Faith. So likewise after him did all the rest in order, to' *Valentinian* and *Valens*. But when the *Pontifices* [chief Priests] brought the holy Robe to *Gratian* (as it was the custom to do) he rejected their offer; as thinking it an unlawful Garb for a Christian to use. And when the Robe was given back to the Priests that brought it, they say, the chief Person among 'em said, If the Emperor will not be called *Pontifex*, we'll soon make one. And

And thus did *Gratian*'s Reign come to an end; whilſt *Maximus*, who now oppoſed himſelf to have ſure footing in the Empire, ſent an Embaſſy to the Emperor *Theodoſius*, not to beg pardon for what he had done againſt *Gratian*, but rather to give a farther provocation. In which Negotiation, the Perſon ſent was the Imperial Chamberlain; yet no Eunuch (for *Maximus* would not have an Eunuch to govern his Court) but a grave Perſon that had been his familiar Acquaintance ever ſince he was a Child. Now the buſineſs which he went about, was, to ask *Theodoſius* if he would enter into a League, be friends, and make an Alliance againſt all common Enemies that ſhould oppoſe the *Romans*, and if he would not, to declare againſt him open Hoſtility. Whereupon the Emperor *Theodoſius* admitted *Maximus* to be Emperor with him, and to partake both of his Statues and his Imperial Title; though at the ſame time privately he levied War, and endeavour'd to circumvent him by all manner of flattery and obſervance: inſomuch that he commanded *Cynegius*, Prefect of his Court, whom he ſent into *Egypt*, to prohibit all worſhip of the Gods there, and ſhut up their Temples, that he ſhould ſhew the *Alexandrians* *Maximus*'s Image, and ſet it

up

up in ſome publick place, and declare to the people that he was to be his Partner in the Empire. In which Affair *Cynegius* did as he was commanded; ſhutting up the Temple-door throughout the Eaſt, all *Egypt* and *Alexandria* it ſelf, and prohibiting all their ancient ſacrifices together with their cuſtomary Rites. But now as to thoſe things which from that time to this have befaln the *Roman* Empire, a particular account from matter of fact will be a Demonſtration.

About this time a certain Nation of *Scythians* appear'd from beyond the *Iſter*, who were never before known to any of the inhabitants thereabout; though the *Barbarians*, of that Country called 'em, *Prothivgi*. Who being a vaſt number of 'em, furniſh'd with all convenient Arms, and very luſty men beſides, they eaſily over-ran the mid-land *Barbarians*, came down as far as the banks of *Iſter*, and deſired leave to croſs over the River. But *Promotus*, the General of the Armies that lay there, drew his men out in length as far as he could along the bank of the River and ſtopped the *Barbarians* paſſage. And whilſt he was ſo doing he found out alſo another way, which was this. He called together ſome of his own Soldiers who underſtood their Language, and were ſuch

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as he could truſt in things of that nature, and ſent 'em to treat with theſe *Barbarians* about betraying their own Party. But they that went, demanded a large Reward, to give up the *Roman* General with the whole Army into the *Barbarians* hands. And when the *Barbarians* told 'em they were not able to give ſo much, yet to create belief of what they had ſaid, they ſtood upon their firſt Propoſals, and would not abate one farthing of their price. At laſt being both ſides agreed of the Sum, they made ſecret compacts concerning the Treachery: in which it was conſerted, that part of the Money ſhould be paid immediatey, and the reſt when the Victory was obtained. But when they had order'd how the Signal ſhould be given and the time when the Treaſon ſhould be put in execution, they told the whole ſtory to the General; how that in the Night-time, the *Barbarians* were to go about the work and croſs the River to attaque the *Roman* Army.

The *Barbarians* therefore putting all their beſt men into a great many Wherries, commanded them to go over firſt and ſet upon the Soldiers whilſt they were yet aſleep. And next to them, they ſent the midling ſort, to aſſiſt the firſt when they

they had begun the Attaque, as likewiſe, after them, the uſeleſs multitude of all Ages, who would be ſure to brag of a Victory when others had gotten it. But *Promotus* being inform'd of all this beforehand by thoſe whom he ſent to contrive this pretended Treachery, was prepared againſt the *Barbarians* Deſigns, and ſet his Ships with their Stems one againſt another no more than three deep, but rang'd 'em as long as he could, even to twenty furlongs upon the River-ſide. By which means he not onely kept the Enemy from coming over, but ſunk all the reſt that he met coming over in the Wherries. But being a dark, Moonleſs Night, the *Barbarians* knew nothing of what preparations the *Romans* had made, and therefore going to work they went very ſilently on board their Wherries, ſuppoſing that the *Romans* were altogether ſtrangers to their Deſigns. But when the Signal was given, thoſe Men that deviſed the Treachery having fore-warn'd the General of every particular intention, and made a preparation proportionable to that of the Enemy; they ſailed up to 'em in great, ſtrong Ships with ſtout Oars and ſunk all they met, among whom there was not one man that was ſaved by leaping over-board, their Arms

Arms were ſo heavy. And thoſe Wherries, that eſcaped the *Romans* who ſailed to and fro, if they fell into the hands of thoſe that lay along the ſhoar, were pelted ſo faſt with any thing that came to hand, that they and the men in them were caſt away at the ſame time, nor could any paſs that Wall of *Roman* Ships.

This cauſed a mighty ſlaughter among 'em, and ſuch an one as was never ſeen in any Sea-fight before, inſomuch that the River was fill'd with dead Bodies and Arms which would naturally float upon the Water. And if any of 'em could ſwim over, they light upon thoſe that lay by the Rivers ſide, and by them were deſtroy'd. But when all the flower of the *Barbarians* were ſlain, the Soldiers betook themſelves to plundering, and not onely carried away their Children and Women, but made themſelves Maſters of all their proviſions. And then the General, *Promotus*, ſent for the Emperor *Theodoſius*, who was not far off, to be a witneſs of his brave Atchievement. Who, when he ſaw the number of Captives, and the quantity of ſpoils, ſet the Captives at liberty and by gifts that he beſtow'd upon 'em, endeavour'd to entice 'em over to his own ſide, becauſe he knew their help would

would be of consequence to him in a War against *Maximus*.

Thus did *Promotus* continue in his Duty as the Defender and Governour of *Thrace*, and put himself privately in readiness for a War. But it is worth while to tell you another thing that fell out at the same time. There is a Town in that part of *Scythia*, which lies in *Thrace*, called *Tomi*; where *Gerontius*, who was a very strong Man and an excellent Soldier, commanded a Garison. And before this same Town there was planted a choice Company of *Barbarians*, who were not onely very hale, well-timber'd Men, but also more couragious than any of the rest. But these Men though they were presented by the Emperor with greater allowance of Corn and other things, than any of the other Soldiers, yet they did not intend to requite those honours that were done to 'em with good will, but with contempt of the Governor and scorn of the *Roman* Soldiers. Which Design of theirs when *Gerontius* perceiv'd; how they intended to attaque the Town, and put the Government into confusion, he advised with the wisest of his Soldiers about a way to revenge himself upon those insolent, and unjust *Barbarians*. But seeing them fearful and consequently slow

to

to give their assent, as dreading the very motion of the *Barbarians*, he himself took his Arms and a few of his Guards along with him to fight the whole body of the *Barbarians*. And having open'd the Gates he march'd out to meet 'em, whilst his Soldiers were yet either asleep and fetter'd with fear as with a Chain, or got upon the Wall, to see what passed. In the mean time the *Barbarians* laughed at *Gerontius*'s madness, and thinking him desirous of death, sent men against him who were extraordinary strong. Whereupon *Gerontius* engaging with the first that charg'd up to him, and presently catching hold of his Buckler fought very stoutly, till one of the Guards that were about him, who saw them closed, cut off the *Barbarians* Arm, and made him tumble from his Horse. And whilst the *Barbarians* stood amazed at the courage and audacity of the Man, *Gerontius* attaqued some others of the Enemy: insomuch, that when the Soldiers upon the Wall saw what their General did, they remember'd they were *Romans*, and sallying out kill'd most of the *Barbarians*, who were astonish'd to see so sudden an eruption. Only some few escaped into an Edifice which was highly honoured by the Christians, and esteemed as an *Asylum* or Sanctuary.

And now *Gerontius* having deliver'd *Scythia* from all impendent dangers and from the *Barbarians* that attempted it, but were ſubdu'd by his extraordinary valour and magnanimity, he expected ſome reward from the Emperor. But inſtead of that *Theodoſius* was very angry, that the *Barbarians* whom he had honour'd ſo much, were cut off, though they had been a very plague to the publick weal; and therefore preſently ſent for *Gerontius* into cuſtody, to give him an account for what he had ſo bravely perform'd upon the ſcore of the *Romans*. Upon which occaſion *Gerontius* accuſed the *Barbarians* of Rebellion againſt the *Romans*, with a relation of what ſpoil and ravage they had committed among the Inhabitants of that place: but the Emperor did not mind one word that he ſaid, nor was he moved from his former Opinion, but perſiſted in his thoughts, that he did not remove them for the good of the publick but for the lucre of what the Emperor had given 'em, that ſo when he had got their goods into his hands, there might be no body to accuſe him. To which *Gerontius* reply'd, that he had ſent them to the publick Treaſury even after their Death (now the things that he had taken from 'em were golden Necklaces which the Emperor gave 'em for Ornament)

nament) but notwithſtanding that, he had much ado to eſcape the dangers which beſet him, though he gave all he had among the Eunuchs, and paid a Sum proportionable to his good will toward the *Romans*.

When things had thus run to ruin under the Reign of *Theodoſius*, in whoſe time no virtuous action was thought commendable, but all manner of luxury and wantonneſs increaſed every day beyond all meaſure (as they uſe to ſay) thoſe that inhabited that great City of *Antioch* in *Syria*, not able to endure the continual addition of new Taxes which the Collectors invented, roſe up in Arms, and ſhamefully pulling down the Statues both of the Emperor and Empereſs, gave out ſuch words as were not unbefitting the actions that had paſſed, but were moreover mix'd with Drollery and that kind of Raillery which is uſually among them. But when the Emperor, who was diſpleaſed at what they had done, threaten'd to puniſh them for that fault according to their demerit, the Senate of the City, for fear of his anger, thought fit to ſend Embaſſadours, to excuſe what the people had done. So they choſe *Libanius*, the Sophiſter or Profeſſor (whoſe Writings that he left declare his praiſes) and *Hi-*

larius, a Man of a nobly Family, and excellently well vers'd in all kind of Learning. Of which two the Sophister made a Speech before the Emperor and Senate concerning the Insurrection, in which he so far prevailed as to appease the Emperor's anger which he had conceiv'd against the *Antiochians*, and (which was more than he expected) made the Emperor, who was now altogether reconciled to their City, enjoyn him to make a second Oration upon the same Subject. And *Hilarius*, who was highly commended for his great Virtue, was by the Emperor made Governour of all *Palestine*.

But whilst the Affairs of the East, of *Thrace* and *Illyricum* were in this posture, *Maximus*, who thought things were not carry'd as he deserv'd, who was onely Governour of those Countries which were formerly under *Gratian*, contrived how to depose the young *Valentinian* from the Empire, and that totally if he could; but if he failed in the whole, to make sure of some part at least, as much as he could get. And being overborn with this Resolution, he prepared to pass the *Alps* and go into *Italy*. But seeing that he must of necessity travel through a streight passage, and over craggy, pathless Mountains, with Marshes and Fens beyond 'em, which admit

mit of no Paſſengers but ſuch as travel very ſlowly, much leſs of ſuch an Army, he deferr'd the enterpriſe till he had better Counſel in it. But when *Valentinian* ſent Embaſſadors from *Aquileia*, to deſire a farther ſecurity of Peace, *Maximus* comply'd with his requeſts, and pretended that he alſo was very well pleaſed with it. *Valentinian* therefore ſent *Domninus* upon that Negotiation, who though he was a *Syrian* born, yet he was the Emperor's very good Acquaintance, and Friend. For as he was the next Man to him in Power and Authority, ſo he ſeemed to excell all others in fidelity and experience; and beſides, what the Emperor had a mind to do without any other bodies knowledg, he reſolv'd to impart to this perſon onely. When therefore *Domninus* came to *Maximus*, and had told him the reaſons of that Embaſſy, he received him with all reſpect and kindneſs imaginable. For he conferr'd ſuch extraordinary honour upon him, and gave him ſuch a load of Preſents, that *Domninus* thought *Valentinian* would never have ſuch an other friend. Nay ſo far did *Maximus* proceed to cheat *Domninus*, that he ſent along with him ſome part of the Army which he had, to help the Emperor againſt the *Barbarians*, who oppreſs'd the *Pannonians* that were under

his Dominion. Thereupon *Domninus* took his leave, and being well pleased not onely with the great quantity of Presents that he received, but the company of those Allies who were sent along with him, he, like an unwise Man, made the way over the *Alps* that led to his own home more pervious for *Maximus*. Which that he would do being *Maximus* foresaw, and therefore had prepared all things in a readiness, he followed him with all his Forces, and secretly sent out Guards before him, who took all the care they could lest any one should pass by that way, and tell *Domninus*'s Retinue of *Maximus*'s coming over into *Italy*. And indeed this Guard upon the pass was very easie to be made; for it was impossible that any one should go through the narrowest place upon the *Alps* but he must needs be seen. When therefore he understood that *Domninus* and his Attendants had passed the streights of the *Alps*, with all those invious Mountains, besides the Fenny places beyond the *Alps*, that are so difficult for an Army to march through, and did not fear meeting any Enemy in those cumbersom places, he immediately went into *Italy* without any resistance, and marched to *Aquileia*.

At

At which *Valentinian* was so surprized, and in such a desperate condition, that his Courtiers were affraid, lest *Maximus* should take him Prisoner and kill him; for which reason he immediately took shipping and sailed to *Thessalonica* along with his Mother *Justina*, who had been Wife (as I told you before) to *Magnentius*, but, after his decease, was married to the Emperor *Valentinian* upon the account of her extraordinary beauty. But she did not go alone without any other Woman; for she carry'd her Daughter *Galla* along with her. And when they had passed so many Seas and were arrived at *Thessalonica*, they sent an Embassy to the Emperor *Theodosius*, to beg of him, that now at least he would revenge the insolent injuries done to all *Valentinian*'s Family. Which when he heard, he was immediately astonished, and began a little to forget his extravagancy, laying some restraint upon his wild inclination to pleasures: and having advised about it, 'twas thought fit that He with some of the Senate should go to *Thessalonica*. And so accordingly they did; and there consulted again what was to be done, till it was agreed as the unanimous consent of the Assembly, that *Maximus* should be punish'd for his offences. For they were of Opinion, that such a

Man ought not to live, who had not onely kill'd *Gratian*, and uſurped his Empire, but having ſucceeded in that, had made ſome farther progreſs, and deprived his Brother alſo of that Dominion which was left him. But though *Theodoſius* was very much diſpleaſed at theſe things, yet through his natural effeminacy, and the negligent manage of his former life, he was loth to undertake a War, and told 'em the inconveniences that ariſe from civil broils, and how the Cowmonwealth muſt of neceſſity receive ſome fatal Wounds from both ſides. Wherefore he ſaid, it was beſt firſt to ſend an Embaſſy; and, if *Maximus* would deliver up the Empire to *Valentinian* and be quiet, that the Empire ſhould be divided amongſt 'em all as it was before; but if he would ſuffer himſelf to be overcome by covetouſneſs, they would fight him without any more ado. Now ne'r a Man in the Senate durſt ſpeak a word againſt all this, becauſe it ſeemed advantageous to the publick.

In the mean while *Juſtina*, who was a Perſon of good experience in things, and knew how to conduct her Affairs to the beſt purpoſe, underſtanding that *Theodoſius* was very much inclined to Love, brought her Daughter *Galla*, who was a very beautiful Lady, into his preſence, and

and clasping the Emperor about the knees, most humbly beseeched him that he would not suffer either *Gratian*'s Death (who gave him that Empire) to go unreveng'd, nor let them lie neglected, and destitute of all hopes. And as she spake those words, she shew'd him the Damsel, who was all in tears, bewailing her misfortunes. When *Theodosius* had heard this supplication of hers, and withal observ'd the beauty of the young Lady, he discover'd by his eyes the Wound that she had made in his Heart; but notwithstanding deferr'd that business till another time; and in the mean while gave 'em some cause to hope the best. But being more and more each day enflamed with a desire to the Damsel, he went to *Justina*, and requested of her that he might have her Daughter, since *Placilla* his former Wife was Dead. To which Demand of his she made answer, That she would not let him have her, unless he would levy War against *Maximus* to revenge *Gratian*'s Death, and restore *Valentinian* to his Father's Throne. He therefore resolving to get her consent by these means, made it his whole business to prepare for a War. And being incited by a Woman, he not onely obliged the Soldiers by increasing their Allowances, but he likewise corrected

cted his own remiſsneſs in other caſes, ſince neceſſity forced him to it, reſolving to take care of ſome things that would want looking after when he was gone. To which end, ſeeing *Cynegius*, the Prefect of the Court, had happen'd to die by the way as he was coming back from *Egypt*, he conſulted who was fit to ſucceed him in that Office. And having taken frequent views of many Men, at length he found out one for his turn, called *Tatianus*, whom he ſent for from *Aquileia*. For this *Tatianus* had born other Offices under *Valens* and was a good Man in all reſpects; wherefore *Theodoſius* declared him Prefect of the Court all over the Countrey, and ſending him the Enſigns of Magiſtracy made his Son *Proclus* Prætor or Governour of the City. And truly in this he did very well, in committing the greateſt Offices to ſuch good Men, who knew how to diſpoſe of things very skilfully for the good of the Subjects when the Emperor was gone. He likewiſe took a care for the Army and made *Promotus* General of the Horſe and *Timaſius* of the Foot.

But juſt when all things were ready for his Journey, he heard, the *Barbarians*, who were mix'd among the *Roman* Legions, had been ſolicited by *Maximus* with

with promiſes of great Rewards if they would betray the Army. But they perceiving that the Deſign was diſcover'd, fled into the Fens and Bogs of *Macedonia*, where they hid themſelves in the Woods. But being purſu'd, and ſearch'd for with all diligence, they were moſt of them ſlain. So that the Emperour being freed from this fright, march'd with all reſolution and his whole Army againſt *Maximus*; having firſt put *Juſtina*, with her Son and Daughter on Ship-board, and committed 'em to the care of thoſe, who would ſee 'em ſafe at *Rome*. For he believ'd that the *Romans* would receive 'em very gladly, becauſe they were diſaffected to *Maximus*. But he with his Army deſign'd to march through the upper *Pannonia*, and over the *Apennine* Mountains to *Aquileia*, that he might ſurpriſe the Enemy before they were prepared.

But whilſt *Theodoſius* was on his way, it happen'd that *Maximus* having heard that *Valentinian*'s Mother with her Children, was like to croſs the *Ionian* Bay, got together a convenient number of ſwift Chaſe-ſhips and gave 'em to *Andragathius*, whom he ſent to hunt 'em out. But *Andragathius*, though he ſailed to and fro to all places, yet miſs'd of his aim (for they were paſſed the *Ionian* Streight before)

fore) and therefore getting together a competent Navy, he ſailed to all the Coaſts thereabout, becauſe he thought *Theodoſius* would attaque 'em in a Sea-fight.

But whilſt *Andragathius* was thus employ'd, *Theodoſius* having paſſed through *Pannonia* and the Streights of the *Apennine* Mountains, ſet upon *Maximus*'s Army before they expected, or were provided for him. And when ſome part of his Army, who ran as faſt as they could, had got to the Walls of *Aquileia* and forced their paſſage through the Gates (for the Guards or Sentinels were too few to reſiſt 'em) *Maximus* was pull'd down from his Imperial Throne, whilſt he was beginning to diſtribute Money among his Soldiers, and being ſtrip'd of his Imperial Robes was brought to *Theodoſius*: who having recounted ſome few of his Crimes againſt the Publick by way of Reproach, deliver'd him to the common Hangman or Executioner, to ſuffer due puniſhment.

Now this was the end of *Maximus* and his uſurp'd Dominion; who when he had craftily conquer'd *Valentinian*, dream'd he ſhould eaſily ſubdue the whole *Roman* Empire. But then the Emperour *Theodoſius* having heard that when *Maximus* came over the *Alps* he left his Son *Victor* there, whom he had honour'd with the Title of *Cæſar*,

Cæsar, he presently sent his General, called *Arbogastes*, who deprived the Youth not onely of his Dignity but his life too. Which when it was told to *Andragathius*, who was then a cruising in the *Ionian* Bay, it made him so sensible of ten thousand dangers which were like to befal him that he never stay'd to expect the Enemies coming, but was the Executioner of his own punishment; for he threw himself into the Sea, as chusing rather to trust the Waves than Men that were his greatest Enemies.

Then did *Theodosius* deliver to *Valentinian* as much of the Empire as ever his Father had; which was indeed but what a Man ought to do to those that have deserv'd well of him. And afterward having mingled all the choice of *Maximus*'s Soldiers among his own, he sent *Valentinian* away into *Italy*, *Celtica*, and other parts to order such things as concern'd his share in the Empire. His Mother also went along with him, to supply, as much as in a Woman lay, what prudence he through want of age might lack.

But going himself back to *Thessalonica*, he found no small confusion in the Affairs of *Macedonia*. For all the *Barbarians* who had hid themselves in the Fens and the Woods lying near the Lakes, and had escaped

ſcaped the former incurſion of the *Romans*, having got an opportunity when *Theodoſius* was engaged in the Civil War, plunder'd all *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly* without any oppoſition. But when they heard of the late Victory and that the Emperour was coming back again, they once more hid themſelves in the Fens, and from thence ſtealing out privately at break of Day they carry'd off all that came in their way, and then they repaired to their uſual places. Inſomuch that the Emperor thought at laſt, that theſe, whoever they were, that ſally'd out thus to pillage the Countrey, were rather Devils than Men. Wherefore being very doubtful in his mind he told no body his Deſign; but taking along with him five Horſemen, whom he order'd, each of 'em to lead three or four Horſes (that ſo if any Horſe tired, the Rider might have another to get upon, and the Horſes by that means be able to ſuſtein the fatigue of that enterpriſe which he intended) he gave no ground for ſuſpicion that he was the Emperour, but went about the Countrey like any ordinary perſon: and if he or his Retinue at any time wanted meat, he begg'd of the Country people. At laſt he came to a ſmall Inn, where an old Woman lived, and deſired that ſhe would let him into her

Houſe

Houſe and give him ſome Drink: both which ſhe did; and by that time ſhe had entertain'd him very kindly with Wine and other things that ſhe then by chance had in the Houſe, it was almoſt Night, and ſo he deſired her to let him lie there; to which the old Woman likewiſe conſented; and the Emperour lay in a certain Room, where he ſaw a Man that ſaid ne'r a word, but look'd as if he had not a mind to be known. At which the Emperour wonder'd, and calling the old Woman to him, demanded of her who he was and whence he came? To which ſhe reply'd, that ſhe could not tell him either that, or why he came thither: but this ſhe ſaid ſhe knew, that ſince the Emperour *Theodoſius* and his Army return'd home, he had been her Gueſt and paid her every Day for his Diet, but had gone out every Day from Morning till Night and walk'd where he pleaſed, till Night, and then he uſed to come back again, as from ſome hard labour, and after he had eaten ſomething, lay down in that poſture which he now ſaw him in. When the Emperour had heard what the Woman ſaid, he thought it convenient to make a farther enquiry into the buſineſs; and taking hold of the Fellow bad him tell, who he was. And being he would not anſwer ſo much as one word,

he

he whip'd him out of design to make him confess. But the Fellow not yielding to that torment, he commanded his Horsemen to prick him with their Swords, and told him withal, that he was the Emperour, *Theodosius*. Whereupon, when the Man said he was the Spy for those *Barbarians* who were hid in the Fens, and gave 'em notice where he was, as also what Men or places it was convenient for 'em to attaque, the Emperour immediately cut off his Head.

And after that going to his Army which lay encamped not far off, he brought his Soldiers to the place where he knew the *Barbarians* lived, and falling upon 'em kill'd every one of what age soever, draging some out of the Fens where they were hid, and murthering others in the Water; so that there was a great slaughter of the *Barbarians*. Now the General, *Timasius*, who admired at the Emperours Valour, desired of him that he would let the Soldiers who were by this time hungry and not able to toil any longer in the Fens, have time to refresh themselves; to which the Emperour consenting, the Trumpet sounded a Retreat, which made the Soldiers leave their work and persecuting of the *Barbarians*. But when they had eaten and drank very plentifully,

nifully, they were ſo overcome with Wine and wearineſs, that they fell faſt aſleep. Which when the *Barbarians* that were yet left perceiv'd, they took up Arms, and falling upon the Soldiers, who were already ſubdu'd by ſleep and drunkenneſs, they punch'd 'em with Spears and Swords and every mortal Inſtrument, ſo long, till the Emperour himſelf had like to have been kill'd with all his Army, if ſome of thoſe who had not yet Dined had not ran to the Emperours Tent, and told him what had happened. At which the Emperour being much troubled together with thoſe that he had with him, reſolved to avoid the approaching danger by a timely flight. But *Promotus* meeting 'em as they fled away (for the Emperour had ſent for him) deſired the Emperour to conſult the ſafety both of himſelf and thoſe that were about him; for that he would take care of the *Barbarians* and puniſh them for their obſtinacy according to their deſerts. Nor had he ſooner ſaid ſo, but he attaqued the *Barbarians*: and finding that they were ſtill upon the ſleeping Soldiers, made up to 'em with all ſpeed, and kill'd ſo many of 'em, that few or none at all eſcaped ſafe into the Fens.

Now these were the most remarkable accidents, that befel the Emperour *Theodosius* after his return from killing *Maximus*. But when he came back to *Constantinople*, he was very proud of his Victory over *Maximus*; though he was so much concern'd for what the *Barbarians* in the Fens had done both to himself and all his Army, that he resolv'd to bid adieu to all Wars and fighting. Wherefore committing the care of those things to *Promotus*, he himself began to recollect his former way of living, and in rich Banquets, exquisite Pleasures, Theatrical Shows, and Horse-Races created to himself a great deal of delight. Which makes me wonder at this Mans inclination to both sides. For tho he were by nature slothful, and given to all idleness, as well as other Vices, which I have told you of before, yet whensoever he had no sad accident, or formidable Object to molest him, he gave the loose to his Nature; but when he was in any straits, whereby the state of Affairs was like to be shaken, he laid aside his sluggishness, and bidding farewel to pleasures prepared himself for manly, hardy and troublesom enterprises. And notwithstanding that he was such a Man by what experience tells us, he would, when free from care, make himself a Slave to his natural Vices of ease and luxury. Now

Now of thoſe that were Magiſtrates under him, *Ruſinus* was counted the chiefeſt, who was by Nation a *Celtick*, and Maſter of the Court Guards: for the Emperour truſted him with all manner of things, and had little eſteem for any one elſe; which vexed *Timaſius* and *Promotus*, who after ſo many dangers that they had undergone for the publick good, were placed onely in the ſecond rank of Favourites. And this made *Ruſinus* ſo proud and high-minded, that in a publick Aſſembly he caſt forth very bold words againſt *Promotus*: Which *Promotus* being not able to endure gave him a ſwinging blow in the Face and wounded him. Whereupon *Ruſinus* went immediately to the Emperour, and, ſhewing him his Face, put him into ſuch a fury, that he ſaid, If they had not lad aſide their envy to *Ruſinus*, they ſhould ere long ſee him Emperour. Which when *Ruſinus* heard, who was upon other accounts alſo an Enemy to many more, through his exceſſive ambition to be above all, he perſuaded the Emperour to command *Promotus* out of the Court to ſome place where he might live and exerciſe the Soldiers. And having obtain'd his deſire, he ſet an Ambuſcade of *Barbarians* to wait for him as he was going into *Thrace*: who as they were commanded, attaqued him

on a sudden and kill'd him. Him, who was a Man above the love of Riches, and had behaved himself sincerely both to the Commonwealth and the Emperours; but had the just reward of his folly, for serving those who disposed of the publick Affairs with so much sloth and impiety.

When this Action was noised abroad, and got into every bodies mouth, though every modest, sober Man was troubled at such enormities, yet at the same time *Rufinus*, as if he had done some glorious Deed, was made Consul. And then *Tatianus*, with his Son *Proculus* (who had offended *Rufinus* upon no other score, than that, being Prefects, the one of the Court, and the other of the City, they had discharged their Offices without any bribery and as much as possibly they could, according to their Duty) were called into question without any reason. And to effect what was designed against them, *Tatianus* being first put out of his Place, was brought to his Trial, whilst *Rufinus* was made Prefect of the Imperial Court. Now though in appearance there were others commissionated as Judges in this Trial besides *Rufinus*, yet he alone had Authority to pass the Sentence. But when *Proculus* had discover'd the Design, he made his escape: upon which *Rufinus*, who thought him an indu-

industrious Man, and feared lest he might study some new way to give him disturbance, came to his Father *Tatianus*, and by deceitful Oaths made him believe whatever he said; nay, he perswaded the Emperour to give both the Father and the Son all hopes imaginable, till by this means he had cheated *Tatianus* out of a well-grounded suspicion into vain dreams of safety, and made him by Letters recal his Son. But as soon as *Proculus* came, he was laid hold on and put in Prison; and *Tatianus* being sent to live in his own Country, they had several Hearings of *Proculus*'s Cause, till at last the Judges, according to agreement between them and *Rufinus*, commanded him to be carried into the Suburbs, called *Sycæ*, and there put to death. Which when the Emperour heard of, he sent, forsooth, to recal the Sword from his Throat; but the Messenger went so slowly, by the Order of *Rufinus*, that *Proculus*'s head was cut off before he came to the place.

Now whilst these things were in action, the news was brought that the Emperor *Valentinian* was dead, and this was the manner of his death: *Arbogastes*, a *Frank*, who was made Lieutenant to *Bauto* by the Emperour *Gratian*, had, upon *Bauto*'s

deceaſe, in confidence of his own induſtry, made himſelf General, without the Emperour's leave. And being thought fit for the place by all the Soldiers under him, upon the account both of his Valour and knowledg in Military Affairs, as alſo his contempt of Riches, he grew into great Power; and was ſo very high, that he would ſpeak his mind freely to the Emperour, and what he thought not well done, or as it ought to be, he would find fault with. Which *Valentinian* took ſo ill that he oppoſed him ſeveral times, and would have done him a diskindneſs but could not bring it about: for *Arbogaſtes* was fortified with the love of all the Soldiers. At length *Valentinian* who could no longer endure to be under his correction, ſeeing *Arbogaſtes* coming toward him as he ſat in his Imperial Throne, look'd ſternly upon him and gave him an Inſtrument whereby he caſheered him from his Command; which when *Arbogaſtes* had read, he reply'd, Thou (ſaid he) neither gaveſt me my Command, nor canſt thou take it from me; and having ſo ſaid, tore the Inſtrument in pieces, threw it down and went away. Now from that time they did not keep their ſuſpicions to themſelves, but their ill will to each other was publickly known: and *Valenti-*

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nian ſent frequent Letters to the Emperour *Theodoſius*, to acquaint him with the arrogant ſaucy behaviour of *Arbogaſtes* toward the Majeſty of an Emperour, and deſired him withal to ſend him very ſpeedily ſome aſſiſtance, or he ſwore, he would ſuddenly come and viſit him. In the mean time *Arbogaſtes*, being in debate what courſe to take, came at laſt to this reſolution. There was in the Court a certain Perſon, called *Eugenius*, who was ſo excellent a Scholar, that he profeſſed Rhetorick and kept a School. This Perſon *Richomeris* had commended to *Arbogaſtes* as a kind, civil Man, to his own knowledg, and deſired him to make him his familiar, being one that would not be uſeleſs to him if any thing ſhould happen where the aſſiſtance of a real Friend were needful. By which means, when *Richomeris* was gone to the Emperour *Theodoſius*, the daily converſation of theſe two made *Eugenius Arbogaſtes*' very great Friend, nor had he any ſecret but he truſted him with it. At this juncture therefore remembring *Eugenius*, who by his extraordinary Learning and gravity of Converſation, ſeemed very fit to manage an Empire, he communicated to him his intentions. But ſeeing him not well pleaſed with what he propoſed to him, he proceeded

ceeded to induce him by all the Arts he could, and begg'd of him not to reject what Fortune had ſo favourably offer'd. And when he had perſuaded him, he thought it beſt in the firſt place to remove *Valentinian*, and ſo to deliver up the ſole Power to *Eugenius*. To which end he went to *Vienna*, a Town in *Gaul* where the Emperour was, and as he was playing at certain Sports near the Wall of the Town with ſome of the Soldiers, thinking nothing of it, he fell upon him, gave him a mortal wound and kill'd him. Which bold action of his the Soldiers ſaid ne'r a word to, not onely becauſe he was ſo great a Perſon, and ſuch a Warlike Heroe, but becauſe they loved him too for his contempt of Riches. Wherefore as ſoon as he had done the deed he declared *Eugenius* Emperour, and put 'em all in good hopes that he would prove a good Governour, becauſe he was ſo extraordinarily qualified.

When theſe things were related to the Emperour *Theodoſius*, his Wife *Galla* put the whole Court into diſorder by lamenting for the death of her Brother. And the Emperour alſo was full of grief and care, having not onely loſt his Partner in the Government, who was a young Man and ſo nearly related to him, but likewiſe

wise fallen into the hands of Men that were both disaffected to him, and besides that, invincible; for *Arbogastes* was bold and valiant, as *Eugenius* was learned and virtuous. But though he said thus to himself and often revolv'd it in his mind, yet he resolv'd (as it were) at once to throw the Dice for all he had, and therefore made all manner of preparation for a War. And in pursuance of his Design, he intended to make *Richomeris* Commander of the Horse, having had experience of his courage in many Wars, and to make other Officers for the Legions. But *Richomeris* dying of a Disease whilst he was consulting about these Affairs, he was fain to make choice of other Men. But whilst the Emperour was considering of it, there was news brought of an Embassy from *Eugenius*, to know of the Emperour *Theodosius*, whether he would admit *Eugenius* to Reign, or declare his Election void. Now the Person sent upon that Embassy was one *Rufinus*, an *Athenian*, who neither brought any Letters from *Arbogastes*, nor made any other mention of him. But whilst the Emperour delay'd the time to consult what he should do, or what Answer to make to the Embassadors, it happen'd that another thing also intervened, which was this: When *Theodosius* first

came

came to be Emperour, he received ſome *Barbarians* into his friendſhip and Alliance, whom he obliged both with hopes and large Preſents; nor was he wanting by all civilities to endear the Officers of each Nation, but admitted 'em even to his Table with him. But there aroſe a debate among 'em in which they maintain'd two different Opinions. For ſome of 'em ſaid, it was better break their Oaths, that they had taken, when they made themſelves ſubject to the *Romans*; whilſt others, on the contrary, ſaid, they ought by no means to do any thing againſt their own agreement. Now he that was for trampling upon his Promiſe, and perſuaded all his Countrymen to do the ſame, was one *Priulfus*; as on the other ſide, *Frauſtius* maintain'd that they ought to ſtand by what they had ſworn. But it was a long time before any one knew, that there was ſuch a Controverſie among 'em; till on a time when they were at the Emperour's Table, and had drank more than ordinary, they broke out into a quarrel with each other, and declar'd their Opinions; ſo that the Emperour, when he knew the mind of every particular Man, put an end to the Entertainment. But as they went from the Court, they grew into ſuch an heat, that *Frauſtius*, not able

able to endure it any longer, drew out his Sword and kill'd *Priulfus*. And seeing his Soldiers would have set upon *Fraustius*, the Emperour's Guards stood between and would not suffer the mutiny to proceed any farther: though when the Emperour heard of it, he did not much regard what they had done, but let the quarrelsom fools kill one another as they would. In the mean time having deceiv'd the Embassadors with Presents and fair words that seemed to have a great deal of moderation in them, he sent 'em home; and, as soon as they were gone, went on with his Warlike preparations. But thinking that his chief business was, the choice of Captains, as indeed it is, he made *Timasius* Commander of the *Roman* Army; and next to him, *Stilico* (who married *Serena* the Daughter of *Theodosius* the Emperour's Brother) putting his Allies the *Barbarians* under the conduct of *Gaines* and *Saul*, with whom also *Bacurius* was in the same Commission; who was of *Armenian* extract, but a Man free from all ill inclinations, besides his skill in military Affairs.

When he had thus made choice of his grand Officers, and was making what haste he could toward his marching out, it happen'd

happen'd that his Wife *Galla* died in Child-bed, and was no sooner eas'd of her burthen but she was deprived of her life also. Upon which occasion when the Emperour had mourned for her a whole Day (according to *Homers* rule) he went away with his Army to the War; but left his Son *Arcadius* behind him, who was some time before made Emperour. But because he was young his Father thought fit to cure, as it were, the defects of his nonage, by leaving *Rufinus* with him, who was not onely Prefect of the Court, and did what he pleased, but even as much as the power of Majesty enabled the Emperour himself to do. And having done thus, he took his younger Son *Honorius* along with him, soon pass'd the intermediate Countries, and having beyond all hopes got over the *Alps*, he arrived where the Enemy lay, insomuch that *Eugenius* was amazed to see him there whom he so little expected. Now since he was there and consequently must fight, He thought it best to put his *Barbarian* Forces, in the Forelorn-Hope, and exposed them first, and therefore commanded *Gaines* with the Nations under his Command to make the first attaque, and that the other Captains should follow him as many as commanded

ed *Barbarian* Soldiers, whether Horſe, Horſe-Bowmen, or Foot. Then did *Eugenius* alſo draw out his Men, and when the two Armies were engaged, there was ſuch an Eclipſe of the Sun at the very time of the Fight, that above half the while it look'd more like Night than Day. And therefore ſeeing they fought a kind of a nocturnal Battel, they made ſuch a mighty ſlaughter, that the ſame Day the greater part of *Theodoſius*'s Allies were ſlain, and their Commander *Bacurius* alſo, who fought very ſtoutly in the head of 'em; whilſt the remaining part of 'em eſcaped very narrowly with the reſt. When therefore Night came on and the Armies had rallied their Forces, *Eugenius* was ſo proud of his Victory that he diſtributed Money among thoſe that had behaved themſelves beſt in the Battel, and gave 'em time to ſup: as if, after ſuch a Defeat there were like to be no fighting. But whilſt they were at Meat, the Emperour *Theodoſius*, who ſaw it was almoſt break of Day, fell upon the Enemies with all his Forces, whilſt they were yet lying down upon the ground, and kill'd 'em before they could tell who hurt 'em. And then going on even to *Eugenius*'s Tent, where he ſet upon thoſe that were about him, killing many of 'em, he alſo took ſome of 'em that were running

away,

away for fear; among whom *Eugenius* was one: whom when they had gotten into their hands, they cut off his Head and carry'd it upon a long Spear about all the Camp, to ſhew thoſe who were yet his Friends, how they ought, as *Romans*, to be reconciled to the Emperour, eſpecially now, ſince the Uſurper was removed. Whereupon almoſt all thoſe that were left after the Victory ran over to the Emperour, and ſhouting call'd him *Auguſtus*, beſeeching him likewiſe to pardon 'em for what they had been guilty of: to which the Emperour very eaſily aſſented. But *Arbogaſtes* who had no mind to try the Emperour's good nature fled up into the moſt craggy Mountains; where when he perceiv'd that they went about in all places to ſearch for him, he ſtabb'd himſelf, as chooſing rather to die a voluntary death than to be taken by the Enemy.

When things had thus ſucceeded to the Emperour *Theodoſius*, he went to *Rome*, where he declared his Son *Honorius* Emperour, made *Stilico* General of all the Forces there, and left him as Tutor to his Son. But before he went away he call'd the Senate together, (who ſtuck cloſe to their ancient Country Rites and Cuſtoms, nor could be perſuaded to joyn with them, that ſeem'd any way to incline toward

ward a contempt of the Gods) and in an Oration exhorted 'em to relinquish their former Error (as he call'd it) and embrace the Christian faith, which promises remission of all sins and impieties. But seeing ne'r a Man of 'em would be perswaded to it, nor recede from their ancient Ceremonies which had been deliver'd down to 'em ever since their City was built, and prefer an irrational assent before 'em (for they said, they had lived almost one thousand two hundred years in the observation of 'em, in all which time their City was never conquer'd, and therefore if they should change them for others, they could not tell what might come of it) *Theodosius* told 'em, that the Treasury was too much drain'd by the expences that were occasion'd in holy Rites and Sacrifices, and that he would therefore abolish them, because he neither thought what they did there commendable, nor could the Soldiers necessities spare so much Money. To which though the Senate reply'd, that Sacrifices were not rightly perform'd unless the Charges were from the publick Stock, yet for this reason the Law for performance of holy Rites and Sacrifices was repealed and is out of date, besides other things that lay neglected which they received from their Forefathers; insomuch

somuch that the *Roman* Empire being wasted by degrees is become the habitation of *Barbarians*, or rather having quite lost all its Inhabitants is reduced to such a form, that a Man cannot tell where the Cities formerly stood. Now that things were brought into such a sad condition, will appear by a particular account of them. But the Emperour *Theodosius* having deliver'd up *Italy*, *Spain*, the *Celtæ*, and all *Libya* to *Honorius* his Son, died of a Distemper in his return to *Constantinople*: but his Body was embalm'd and buried in the Imperial Sepulchres at that City.

A New

HISTORY

Written by

Count *ZOSIMUS*,

Sometime Advocate of the Treasury.

The Fifth Book.

NOW when the whole Empire was in the hands of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, they seemed indeed by their Stile and Title to be invested with Power, though in reality the universal administration of Affairs was managed, in the East, by *Rufinus*, and in the West, by *Stilico*. And by them were all Causes determined, even as they pleas'd; for he

that bribed luſtily, or by any other means of friendſhip or Relation could make the Judg his Advocate was ſure to carry the day. From whence it came to paſs, that all thoſe great Eſtates, which made the Poſſeſſors of 'em ſo generally accounted happy Men, devolv'd unto theſe two; ſince ſome by reconciling gifts ſought to avoid falſe accuſations, and others parted with all they had to get an Office, or any other way to purchaſe the ruin of ſuch and ſuch Cities. Whilſt therefore all ſort of iniquity reign'd in the ſeveral Cities, the Money flow'd from every quarter into the Houſes of *Ruſinus* and *Stilico*: as, on the contrary, Poverty ſtill prey'd upon the habitations of them who had been formermerly Rich. Nor did the Emperors know of any thing that was done, but thought all that *Ruſinus* and *Stilico* commanded, was done as it were by virtue of ſome unwritten Law. But after that they had gather'd up an infinite maſs of Wealth, *Ruſinus* began to dream of getting to be Emperour by a deſign which he had of making his own Daughter, who was now marriagable, the Emperor's Wife: for that he thought would be a good ground for his pretenſions to the Government. In order whereunto he privately mention'd the thing through ſome of thoſe that waited

ed upon the Emperour, ſuppoſing himſelf that no body ſaw what he aimed at, though the report of it was ſpread all over the Town. For all Men gueſſed at his intentions by his pride and arrogance, which ſwell'd and increaſed every day ſo much, that he was generally hated more and more. Yet he notwithſtanding, as though he had a mind induſtriouſly to diſguiſe ſmall faults with greater enormities, was ſo bold as to do another thing, which was this:

Florentius, who had been Prefect of the Court in the Countries beyond the *Alps*, when the great *Julian* was *Cæſar*, had a Son call'd *Lucianus*, who had made uſe of *Ruſinus* as his Patron, and given him the beſt part of his Eſtate. For which *Ruſinus* upon all occaſions profeſſed a great deal of kindneſs to the young Gentleman, and was always a commending him to the Emperour *Arcadius*: who made him Count [or Earl] of the Eaſt; which is a Dignity that impowers every one on whom it is conferr'd, to govern all Prefects of Provinces through the Eaſt, and to correct whatever is done amiſs. *Lucianus* therefore ſhewing all that virtue which becomes a Governour toward thoſe that are under him, was famous for his Juſtice, temperance, and all other endowments that can

adorn a good Magistrate; having neither respect to persons, or any other thoughts but what the Law suggested to him. And this was the reason that when *Eucherius* the Emperour's Uncle desired him to do a thing which was not fitting for him to comply with, he gave him a repulse, and thereby vexed him to such a degree that he traduced him to the Emperour. Whereupon seeing the Emperour said, *Rufinus* was the cause of it, who had bestow'd so much power upon such a Person, *Rufinus* took an occasion (as if forsooth he had mightily resented the blame which the Emperour laid upon him) and without telling any body what his design was, went with a very small Retinue to *Antioch*: where having enter'd the City at midnight he laid hold upon *Lucianus* and without any accusation at all, brought him to his Trial. After which he commanded him to be drubb'd in the Neck with leaden balls till he fainted; and then caused him to be carried in a Litter, all cover'd over, to make people think that he was not yet dead, and should receive some real act of humanity. But the City was so very much disgusted at the unusual manner of his proceeding, that he was fain to sweeten the people by building an Imperial Portico, than which there is no

finer

finer ſtructure in the whole City. And when he had ſo done he return'd to *Conſtantinople*, where he ſolicited his Affairs in order to an affinity between him and the Emperour, to whom he endeavour'd now more than ever to give his Daughter in marriage. But Fortune order'd the matter another way, *Ruſinus* fail'd of his expectation by this means. *Promotus* had two Sons, who whilſt *Theodoſius* was yet alive, were brought up along with his Children. Now the one of theſe Perſons had a Damſel in his Houſe who was extraordinary beautiful; whom *Eutropius* one of the Eunuchs that waited upon the Emperour, adviſed him to make his Wife, not without great commendations of her beauty. And ſeeing that the Emperour took what he ſaid with ſome kind of reliſh, he ſhew'd him the Damſels Picture; whereby he enflamed *Arcadius* with a paſſion ſo much greater for the Lady that at laſt he perſuaded him into a reſolution to marry her: whilſt *Ruſinus*, in the mean time, knew nothing of the matter, but thought his own Daughter would very ſhortly be Empereſs, and that he himſelf ſhould ere long be a Partner in the Empire. But the Eunuch as ſoon as he ſaw that he had made up the match which he himſelf deſign'd, commanded the people

to dance about and carry Garlands in their hands, as they uſed to do upon their Emperor's Wedding-days; and having gotten an Imperial Robe with other Attire fit for an Empreſs out of the Palace, which he gave to the Emperor's Servants to carry, he went through the City with the people before him. And whereas they all ſuppoſed that thoſe things were to be preſented to *Ruſinus*'s Daughter, and ran along with thoſe that carry'd 'em, yet when they were come to *Promotus*'s Houſe, they went in there with the nuptial Preſents, and delivering them to the Damſel, that lived there with *Promotus*'s Son, they ſhew'd who was like to be the Emperor's Wife. By which means *Ruſinus* being fruſtrated of all his hopes, when he ſaw another Woman Empereſs, made it his buſineſs to find out a way how to remove *Eutropius*.

And thus did things ſtand in that part of the Empire which was under the Government of *Arcadius*; whilſt *Stilico*, who was Governour of the Weſtern Empire, gave his Daughter, that he had by *Serena*, in marriage to the Emperour *Honorius*. Now this *Serena* was the Daughter of *Honorius*, who was Brother to *Theodoſius*, the Father of the two Emperours. by which Relation to the Emperour *Stilico* having ſtrengthen'd his Authority, he

he had likewiſe almoſt all the *Roman* Army under his Command. For *Theodoſius* dying in *Italy* after he had taken off *Eugenius*, this *Stilico* was general of the whole Army, out of which he ſelected all the ſtrongeſt and moſt Warlike Soldiers, whom he kept with him, ſending all the weaker part and the very refuſe into the Eaſt. Which when he had done, being very angry with *Rufinus*, who had a mind to be inveſted with a Power in the Eaſt, that might ballance his in the Weſt, he reſolv'd to go to *Arcadius*, deſiring to have the diſpoſal of all his Affairs too according to his own will and pleaſure. For he ſaid, That when *Theodoſius* was upon his Death bed, he gave him charge to take a ſpecial care of all the Affairs belonging to both the Emperours. Which when *Rufinus* underſtood, he endeavour'd by all the art he could to hinder *Stilico*'s expedition into the Eaſt; as likewiſe to diſperſe and weaken the Military power of *Arcadius*. And indeed whilſt he was a contriving all this, he found Men for his turn more wicked than he deſired, by whoſe aſſiſtance he was the cauſe of great calamities to the *Romans*: As how, I'll tell you.

Muſonius, a *Grecian*, who was an incomparable Scholar, had three Sons, whoſe names were *Muſonius*, *Antiochus*, and *Axiochus*: of whom *Muſonius* and *Axiochus* endeavour'd to out-do their Fathers Virtues both in their Learning and integrity. But *Antiochus* was pleaſed with all the contrary courſes, being an Inſtrument of wickedneſs onely. Wherefore *Ruſinus* finding him fit for his purpoſe, made him Pro-Conſul of *Greece*, becauſe he had a mind that the *Barbarians* when they came in ſhould have no great ttouble in laying of it waſte; and committed the Gariſon at *Thermopylæ* to the care of *Gerontius*, who would be ſerviceable in all his Deſigns againſt the Commonwealth. And when *Ruſinus* had deviſed theſe wicked projects, ſeeing *Alarichus* grew ſeditious and diſobedient to the Laws (for he took it very ill, that he was not made Captain of ſome other Military Forces, beſides thoſe *Barbarians* which *Theodoſius* gave him, when he help'd to remove the Tyrant *Eugenius*) he gave him private notice, that he would have him bring forth his *Barbarians*, and all other aſſiſtance of what Nation ſoever they were for that he might eaſily make himſelf Maſter of all that Countrey. Whereupon *Alarichus* march'd out of *Thrace* into *Macedonia* and *Theſſaly*,

Thessaly, destroying all things by the way. But when he came neat to *Thermopylæ*, he sent a private Message to *Antiochus* the Pro Consul, and *Gerontius* the Governour of the Garison at *Thermopylæ*, to inform 'em of his approach. Which news *Gerontius* no sooner heard, but he and his Guards march'd off, and left a free passage for the *Barbarians* into *Greece*. Where when they were arrived, they immediately fell to plunder the Country, and sack all the Towns, killing all the Men both young and old, and carrying away all the Women and Children (together with all the Money) in whole droves. In which expedition all *Bœotia*, and whatsoever *Greek* Countries the *Barbarians* passed through after their entrance at *Thermopylæ*, were so depopulated, that the ruins are to be seen even to this day, excepting onely *Thebes*, which was saved partly by its own strength and partly by the haste which *Alarichus* was in to go and take *Athens*, and therefore would not stay to besiege this City. Wherefore the *Thebans* having thus escaped him, he went to *Athens*, supposing he should easily take that City, which by reason of its largeness could not well be defended; nor being contiguous to the *Pyræus*, could it long hold out for want of necessaries before it would surrender.

Thus did *Alarichus* hope: but the Antiquity of the City, even amidſt all theſe impious deſigns, was able to call forth the very Divine Providence to its aid, and thereby preſerve it. Concerning which it is worth ones while to give you an account of the cauſe whereby the City was ſaved, as being ſupernatural, godlike, and apt to excite all thoſe that hear it to Devotion: [and thus it happen'd.] When *Alarichus* came with all his Forces to the City, He ſaw *Minerva*, their Tutelar Goddeſs walking about the Wall in that very ſhape that you may ſee her among the Statues of the Deities, [which is] arm'd, and ready to attaque all thoſe that oppoſe her: and before the Walls [he ſaw] *Achilles* ſtanding in ſuch an Heroick poſture, as *Homer* ſhew'd him to the *Trojans* when he fought againſt them ſo furiouſly to revenge the death of *Patroclus*. Which Sight *Alarichus* being not able to endure, deſiſted from all attempts upon the City, and ſent out Heralds to offer terms of peace: which they receiving, and having mutually given their Oaths to each other, *Alarichus* enter'd *Athens* with a ſmall number of Men. Where being entertain'd with all kind of civility, he waſh'd himſelf, and was treated by the beſt of the City; after which alſo he received certain

tain Preſents and went away, leaving the City and all *Attica* unhurt, untouch'd. Now the City of *Athens* was the onely place which was ſaved in the Earthquake that happen'd under the Reign of *Valens*, and ſhook all *Greece*, as I told you in the precedent Book; and eſcaped alſo at this time, though it was in ſuch extremity of danger.

Alarichus therefore having left all *Attica* unwaſted, for fear of the Apparitions which he ſaw, paſs'd on to *Megaris*; which he took upon the firſt attempt, and ſo went toward *Peloponneſus*, having no body in his way that would reſiſt him. And when *Gerontius* had given him leave to paſs over the *Iſthmus*, all the Towns beyond that were capable of being taken without the trouble of a fight, becauſe they were unwalled, and confided onely in the ſecurity which they receiv'd from the *Iſthmus*. For which reaſon *Corinth* was firſt ſtorm'd and immediately taken, with the ſmall Towns adjacent: and after that, *Argos*, with all the places between that and *Lacedæmon*. Nay even *Sparta* it ſelf came in for a ſhare in the common captivity of all *Greece*, as being no longer fenced either with Arms, or Warlike Men (through the covetouſneſs of the *Romans*) but expoſed to Magiſtrates who were

were treacherous, and would readily serve their Governour's voluptuous inclination in all things that conduced to publick ruin, and destruction.

Rufinus, when he heard of the calamities which had befallen *Greece*, was still more desirous to be Emperour. For now that the Commonwealth was in an uproar, he thought there would be nothing in the way to hinder such an enterprise. But *Stilico*, having put a considerable number of Soldiers on board a convenient number of Ships, made haste to assist the *Achaians* in their Affliction. And being arrived at *Peloponnesus*, he forced the *Barbarians* to fly into *Pholoe*, where he had easily cut 'em all off for want of provisions, had he not given himself to luxury, mimickry, and lewd Women; and permitted his Soldiers not onely to plunder what the *Barbarians* left, but thereby also to give the Enemy time to depart out of *Peloponnesus*, and marching with all their Spoils into *Epirus* to pillage all the Towns in that Country. Which when *Stilico* heard that they had done, he sailed away into *Italy* without doing any execution, save onely, that he brought upon the *Grecians* much greater and more grievous calamities by means of the Soldiers that he took thither along with him.

And

And when he came into *Italy*, he immediately resolv'd to contrive *Rufinus*'s death, and that in this manner. He told the Emperour *Honorius* that it was convenient for him to send some Auxiliary Legions to his Brother *Arcadius*, to defend the miserable Nations under his Dominion. And being by the Emperour order'd to do as he thought fitting, he gave command what Men should be sent in that Affair; making *Gaines* their General, to whom he told what his Design was upon *Rufinus*. When therefore the Soldiers were come near to *Constantinople*, *Gaines* went before and told the Emperour *Arcadius* of their approach, and how they came with a desire to assist him in his necessity. Whereupon the Emperour being pleas'd at their coming, *Gaines* advised him to go and meet 'em as they were just entring the City: for he said, it was a customary honour which was usually bestow'd upon the Soldiers in such a case. Insomuch that the Emperour was perswaded to it, and going out to meet 'em before the City they all paid their obeisance to him, which he on the other side as graciously received; till at last, when *Gaines* gave the Signal, they all fell upon *Rufinus*, and getting him among 'em so slash'd him with their Swords that one cut off his right hand, another his

his left, a third divided his head from his ſholders and went his way ſinging Triumphant Songs. Nay they reproach'd him ſo much even after he was dead, as to carry his hand all about the City, and ask all they met to give ſomething to an inſatiable Miſer.

And thus *Ruffinus*, who was the cauſe of many intolerable calamities to private perſons, as well as author of publick miſchief, ſuffer'd the juſt puniſhment due to his wicked Deeds. Whilſt in the mean time *Eutropius*, who was an Inſtrument in all *Stilico*'s Deſigns againſt *Ruffinus*, was Overſeer and Ruler of all things that were done in the Court. Who though he made *Ruffinus*'s Eſtate for the moſt part his own, yet he permitted others alſo to take as much of it as it was fit for them to have. But *Ruffinus*'s Wife with her Daughter ran into a Church belonging to the Chriſtians, for fear of periſhing with her Husband; till *Eutropius* promiſed 'em that they ſhould ſail unmoleſted to *Jeruſalem*, which was once a receptacle and habitation for *Jews*, but ſince the Reign of *Conſtantine* has been adorn'd with Structures built by the Chriſtians. And here did they two ſpend the reſt of their days. Whilſt in the mean time *Eutropius* having a mind to remove all perſons who were

of

of any account, that no Man elſe might be ſo great with the Emperour as himſelf, he laid a Plot againſt *Timaſius*, who had been a General ever ſince the Reign of *Valens* and in many a Battel, without any reaſon of it: and the falſe Accuſation was this:

One *Bargus*, a Native of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, who ſold Sauceages, being caught in ſome miſdemeanors there fled from *Laodicea* to *Sardeis*: where ſeeing he appear'd in his own colours, he was famous for his Roguery. *Timaſius* therefore, coming to *Sardeis*, and ſeeing this Fellow, who was a witty Villain and cunning enough to flatter any body into a kindneſs for him, he made him his familiar, and in a ſhort time gave him the Command of a Company. Nor onely ſo, but took him alſo along with him to *Conſtantinople*: where though the Magiſtrates did not approve of his ſo doing, (for *Bargus* had been formerly baniſh'd *Conſtantinople* upon the account of ſome Villanies which he had committed) yet *Eutropius* [was well enough pleas'd that] he had found a Man fit for him to make uſe of in his falſe Accuſation againſt *Timaſius*, and therefore ſet him up for the Informer, with a Libel in his Hand, to impeach *Timaſius* of Treaſon for aiming and deſiring to be

Em-

Emperour. Now in this case the Emperour sat as President of the Court; but *Eutropius* stood by him, who was the Imperial Chamberlain, and had full Authority to pass the Sentence. But seeing all the people were displeas'd, that a Sauceage-monger should accuse a Person who had been so great, and honourable, the Emperour went out of the Court, and left the whole matter to *Saturninus* and *Procopius*. Of whom the former was very old and had born several Offices of great importance, though not without flattery, and being used even in judicial Cases to humour them who were the Emperour's chief Creatures. But *Procopius*, on the other hand, who was Father-in-law to the Emperour *Valens*, was a morose, stubborn Man, and in some things seemed to speak the truth boldly: insomuch that upon this occasion being brought in for a Judg in the case of *Timasius*, he objected to *Saturninus*, That *Bargus* was not a fit person to accuse *Timasius*, or that a person who had born so many great Offices and a Man of so much honour should be destroy'd upon the false accusation of such a pitiful, base Fellow, or (which was the greatest absurdity of all) that a Benefactor should suffer by him that he had been kind to. But *Procopius* got nothing by

by taking this freedom to ſpeak; ſince *Saturninus*'s Opinion prevail'd and was commended.

Timaſius therefore was ſentenced to live in *Oaſis*, and ſent thither with the common Guard upon him. Now this *Oaſis* was a ſad barren place, from whence no Man could ever return that was once carry'd into it. For the way thither being ſandy, deſert, and uninhabited, makes people who go to *Oaſis* that they cannot tell which way they travel, or where the Road is; becauſe the Wind fills the tracts of peoples feet with ſand, nor is there any Tree or Houſe to direct 'em. Yet there was a common report that *Timaſius* was reſcu'd by his Son *Syagrius*, who having eſcaped from thoſe that were ſent to ſearch for him, made uſe of certain Robbers to reſcue his Father. But whether that be true, or whether they ſpread ſuch a rumour abroad to gratifie *Eutropius*, no body certainly knows; ſave onely thus much, that neither *Timaſius* nor *Syagrius* have ever been ſeen from that time to this. In the mean time *Bargus*, who had freed *Eutropius* from all ſuſpition, or fear of *Timaſius*, was made Colonel of a Legion, which brought him in a good ſum of Money, though he was ſo fooliſh to hope for more ſtill by way of Preſent. For he did

not consider, that *Eutropius*, who had found him to be such a Rascal to his Benefactor *Timasius*, expected him to be no less toward him also. When therefore *Bargus* was gone from home about the Affairs relating to his Office, *Eutropius* perswaded his Wife, who was fallen out with him about something or other, to present an Information to the Emperour, with many Accusations in it, to impeach *Bargus* of the greatest Crimes imaginable. Which when *Eutropius* heard [read over before the Emperour] he immediately brought *Bargus* to his Trial, and upon conviction, deliver'd him over to be punish'd according as he deserv'd. Whereupon all Men both admired and praised the Eye of *Adrastia* [*i. e.* the All seeing Justice of God] which no wicked Man can escape [as the word *Adrastia* signifies.]

But whilst *Eutropius* was, as it were, drunk with Riches and seemed in his own conceit to be elevated even above the Clouds, he had his Spies in almost all Countries to make enquiry how things were carry'd, and what every particular Mans condition was; nor was there any thing at all but brought him in some profit, or other. Wherefore his envy and his covetousness together set him against *Abundantius* also; who was born in that part of *Scythia* which

which lies in *Thrace*, but had been a Soldier ever since the Reign of *Gratian*, received great Honours under *Theodosius*, and was at that time chosen General and Consul. But *Eutropius* having a mind to deprive him at once both of his Estate and Honour, the Emperour commanded at least by Writing that it should be so; and *Abundantius* being presently banish'd the Court, was order'd to live at *Sidon* in *Phœnicia* all the rest of his days. By which means though *Eutropius* had no body at *Constantinople* that durst so much as look at him; yet he remember'd that *Stilico* was Lord of all things in the West, and therefore contrived how to prevent his coming to *Constantinople*. To which purpose he perswaded the Emperour, to call a Senate, and by a publick Decree declare *Stilico* an Enemy to the Empire. Which being done, he immediately made *Gildo* (who was Governour of all that part of *Africa* that belongs to *Carthage*) his Friend, and by his assistance dividing that Country from the Dominions of *Honorius* he added it to the Empire of *Arcadius*. Whereat when *Stilico* was mightily troubled, and could not tell what in the World to do, there happen'd an extraordinary accident. For *Gildo* had a Bro-

ther, called *Maſceldelus*, againſt whom through the barbarous fury of his diſpoſition he had laid a deſign, and thereby forced him to ſail into *Italy* to *Stilico*, to complain of his Brother's ſeverity. Which he no ſooner had done, but *Stilico* gave him a good competent number of Men and Ships and ſent him to fight *Gildo*. And when he came to the place where he heard his Brother lay, he ſet upon him with his whole Forces before he was ready for the Battel; and after a ſharp Engagement, defeated him to ſuch a degree, that *Gildo* hang'd himſelf; as chooſing rather to do ſo, than come into the hands of his Enemies. Now by means of this Victory *Gildo*'s Brother reſtored *Africa* to *Honorius* and ſailed back into *Italy*: where though *Stilico* envied him for his great Atchieyement, yet he pretended a kindneſs for him, of which he at leaſt gave him good hopes. But as he was afterward going one day into ſome place in the Suburbs, and was got upon the Bridg that is over the River there, where among others *Maſceldelus* alſo attended upon him, the Guards, in obedience to the Signal which *Stilico* gave 'em, thruſt *Maſceldelus* into the River, whilſt the former laugh'd, and the later was choaked by the violence of the ſtream.

Now

Now from this time forward the enmity between *Eutropius* and *Stilico* was very manifeſt, and in every bodies mouth. But though they were diſaffected to each other, yet in this agreed, to inſult with all ſecurity over the miſeries of the Subjects; whilſt the one [that is, *Stilico*] had married his Daughter *Mary* to the Emperour *Honorius*, and the other ruled *Arcadius*, as if he had been a Sheep, [or any other the like tame Creature.] For whether any of the Subjects had a finer Seat than ordinary, to be ſure one of them was Maſter of it, or whether there were any Silver or Gold ſtirring, it all flow'd from the former poſſeſſors of it, into their Coffers: for there were great numbers of Sycophants [*i. e.* falſe Accuſers] in all places, who were order'd to give notice of ſuch things.

But ſeeing the Emperour on both ſides in this condition, all thoſe of the Senatorian Order were ſorry that things were in ſuch bad circumſtances, eſpecially *Gaines*, who had neither Honour enough for a Commander of his age, nor would be ſatisfied with all the gifts that were or could be beſtowed upon him, his barbarous Avarice was ſo inſatiable. But that which ſtung him more than all the reſt, was, that all the Money flow'd into *Eu-*

tropius's House. For these reasons being very much enraged he made *Tribigildus* partner in his Design: who was a Man very daring and ready to undertake any hazardous Exploit; but he commanded *Barbarians* (not *Romans*) who were posted in *Phrygia*, where he had the care of 'em committed to him by the Emperour. Now this same *Tribigildus* pretending he would go into *Phrygia* to take a view of the *Barbarians* who were under his command, went out from *Constantinople* upon that account. And having taken those *Barbarians* whom he commanded along with him, he attaqued all places or persons that he met with by the way, nor did he contain himself from the murder of Men, Women, and Children, but destroy'd all before him, and in a little time got together such a multitude of Slaves and other abject Fellows, that he put all *Asia* into extream danger. For not only all *Lydia* was full of Tumults, seeing all the Inhabitants (in a manner) were fled to the Sea-coasts, from whence they and their Families sailed all into the Islands or elsewhere; but even all *Asia* that lay upon the Sea expected to see such approaching danger as they had never yet beheld. Nor when these things were told the Emperor did he take any pity on the common calamity

lamity (for indeed he was not capable of understanding what was fit to be done, being so extreamly fooliſh as he was) but gave *Eutropius* the whole administration of the Empire. Which when he had obtain'd, he choſe *Gaines* and *Leo* to be his Generals, with a deſign to ſend the one of 'em into *Aſia* to attaque the *Barbarians*, or other promiſcuous people that had taken poſſeſſion of it; but to ſend *Gaines* through *Thrace*, and the Streights of the *Helleſpont*, to meet the Enemy if he ſaw that they were troubleſom in thoſe places.

But *Leo*, who was appointed to aſſiſt in the emergencies of *Aſia*, was a Man of no military conduct at all, nor endued with any other qualification, that might deſerve to have raiſed him to his preſent fortune, ſave onely that he was *Eutropius*'s familiar Friend. But however he upon that onely reaſon was imploy'd; and *Gaines* was ſent into *Thrace*, to obſtruct *Tribigildus* and his men from paſſing over the *Helleſpont*, and to fight 'em by Sea if occaſion were. Now when theſe Commanders were thus inſtructed, they led away their Forces to their ſeveral Poſts: whilſt *Gaines* remembring the compact betwixt him and *Tribigildus*, and that the time was at hand wherein he was to put

the design in execution, commanded *Tribigildus* to draw his Army toward the *Hellespont*. And [I believe [had he concealed what he intended against the Commonwealth, and gone quietly out of *Constantinople* with his *Barbarians*, his whole design had taken effect; nor was there any thing to hinder but that all *Asia* might have been seized by him and even the whole East at the same time destroy'd. But seeing Fortune at that time was pleas'd to preserve those Cities to the *Roman* Government, this *Gaines* was overborn by his hot furious nature as a *Barbarian*, and went from *Constantinople*, with almost all his Warlike Power. And when he came almost to *Heraclea*, he advertised *Tribigildus* what to do. But he resolv'd not to go toward *Hellespont* by any means, for fear of lighting upon the Forces that were posted thereabout; and therefore when he had destroy'd all *Phrygia*, he set upon *Pisidia*; where meeting with no obstacle he pillaged all the Country and went away.

Which news though *Gaines* heard, he was not any way concern'd for the ravage which had been committed, because he remember'd the agreement betwixt him and *Tribigildus*. But *Leo* in the mean time stay'd in the parts adjacent to the *Hellespont*, and not only durst not fight *Tribigildus*,

gildus, but ſaid likewiſe, He was afraid, leſt *Tribigildus* ſhould ſend out ſome part of his Army another way and waſte all the Country near the *Helleſpont* before they were aware of him. By which means it ſo happen'd, that *Tribigildus* took all the Towns without any let or hinderance, and kill'd all the Inhabitants together with the Soldiers; nor was there ever a *Barbarian* that fought for the *Romans*. For they mingled themſelves in the ſeveral conflicts among thoſe of their own Nation, and oppoſed the *Roman* Subjects.

In the mean while *Gaines*, though he ſeemed to be ſorry for the misfortunes of the *Romans*, yet he pretended to admire the Stratagems and Proweſs of *Tribigildus*, declaring him to be invincible upon the account of his prudence, and that he overcame them more by his conduct than his ſtrength. And therefore when he was got over into *Aſia*, he made no attempt upon any one, but ſlighted and neglected the ruin of the Towns and Countries. Nor did he do any more than juſt follow the Enemy, and behave himſelf ſomewhat like a bare Spectator of the action, expecting when *Tribigildus* would go into the Eaſt, and ſending forces to him privately to aſſiſt him in his enterpriſes, having not yet diſcover'd his Opinion as to the preſent

ſtate

ſtate of Affairs. Now if *Tribigildus* had gone into *Phrygia* and ſo, not into *Piſidia*, but ſtrait into *Lydia*, he could have met with no obſtacle, but, when he had made himſelf Maſter of that, might have deſtroy'd *Ionia* too. And from thence paſſing by Sea into the Iſles where he might have got what ſhipping he had pleas'd, it had been eaſy for him to have over run all the Eaſt, and pillaged every Country betwixt that and *Egypt*, ſeeing there was no Army able to cope with him. But he not thinking of theſe things, and reſolving to march into *Pamphilia* which borders upon *Piſidia*, litt into cumberſom ways, where his Horſe could by no means paſs. But ſeeing that no Army withſtood them, one *Valentine*, of *Selga* (which is a little Town in *Pamphilia*, ſtanding upon an Hill) who was a pretty good Scholar, and not altogether unskilful in military Affairs, gather'd together a company of Slaves and Country-fellows, who had been uſed continually to fight againſt the Robbers thereabouts, and poſted them upon the Hills above thoſe places through which *Tribigildus* was to march; in ſuch a manner that they could ſee every one who paſſed that way, but no body could ſee them, though the Enemy march'd by in the day-time. *Tribigildus* therefore with his

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Barbarians, taking the plainer way into the lower parts of *Pamphylia*. and coming in the Night-time into the Fields under *Selga*, the *Barbarians* were ſeverely pelted with Slings that threw ſtones down upon 'em as much as a Man can graſp and bigger: For from that higher ground it was eaſy to caſt ſtones a little bigger than ordinary. Now therefore ſeeing there was no way to eſcape (for on the one ſide of the way there was a deep Lake and Fens, and on the other a ſteep, narrow paſs, that would ſcarce admit two Men a breaſt (which aſcent becauſe it is roundiſh and winding, the Natives call, *The Snail*, from the ſimilitude it bears to that Animal) where one *Florentius* was planted with Men enough to hinder all ſuch as ſhould attempt to come that way) the *Barbarians* being pent up in theſe places, and continually pelted with abundance of huge ſtones, were moſt of them knock'd on the head. For, being they were ſo ſtreighten'd for room, the ſtones that fell from above could not miſs of killing one or other of 'em. And therefore not knowing what in the earth to do, moſt of 'em threw themſelves and their Horſes into the Lake, and to avoid Death by the ſtones, periſh'd in the Fens: whilſt *Tribigildus* with three hundred Men got up upon

upon the *Snail*, where he corrupted *Florentius* and the Guards that were with him for a vaſt Sum of Money to let them paſs: and when he by this means had eſcaped, he ſuffer'd all the reſt to be utterly deſtroy'd. But though *Tribigildus* thought that he hereby had freed himſelf from all the danger which *Valentine* brought upon him, yet he fell headlong preſently into far greater perils than the former. For almoſt all the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Towns, arming themſelves with what came next to hand, incloſed him and the three hundred Men who eſcaped along with him between the Rivers *Melanes* and *Eurymedon*, of which the one runs above *Sida*, and the other through *Aſpendus*. Wherefore being thus ſtreightned and not knowing what to do, he ſent to *Gaines*. But *Gaines* though he were ſorry for what had happen'd, yet having not yet reveal'd his mind as to the Rebellion, he ſent *Leo*, the next Commander to himſelf, to aſſiſt the *Pamphylians*, and to joyn with *Valentine* againſt *Tribigildus*, ſo as not to ſuffer him and his Men to croſs the Rivers. Whereupon *Leo*, though he were a Man naturally of a low ſpirit, and devoted all his life-time to pleaſure, yet he obey'd his Orders. And this made *Gaines* affraid, leſt *Tribigildus*, being beſet on every ſide,

and

and not having ſtrength enough to fight the Enemy, might be totally deſtroy'd. Wherefore he ſent other Troops of *Barbarians* that he had with him, into the *Roman* Camp, not only by degrees to waſte it, but to make way for *Tribigildus*'s eſcape. So the *Barbarians* whom *Gaines* gave to *Leo*, as Auxiliaries, fell upon all the *Romans* which they met with, ſpoiled the Country, and kill'd the Soldiers; nor did they ceaſe to attaque all places, till they had cut off *Leo* with all his Army, and made almoſt the whole Country like a Deſert: ſo that by this means *Gaines*'s deſign took effect. For *Tribigildus* being eſcaped out of *Pamphylia*, laid greater afflictions than the former upon the Cities of *Phrygia*. From whence *Gaines* took occaſion to extol his Atchievements very highly to the Emperour, and put the Senate together with the whole Court into ſuch a fear of him, that he threaten'd and told 'em, he would come to the very *Helleſpont*, and go near to turn all things topſy-turvy if the Emperour would not vouchſafe to take ſome care in ſatisfying his requeſts.

But *Gaines* did this out of policy, at once to conceal his inclinations from the Emperour, and by thoſe reſpects which were ſhewn to *Tribigildus* to get an occaſion

casion of putting his own project in execution. For it did not vex him so much that he himself was slighted, as that *Eutropius* was advanced to the highest pitch of Power, so as to be reckon'd among the Consuls, called by their Stile for a great while together, and honour'd with the dignity of a Patrician. For these were the things that most moved *Gaines* to Sedition: and therefore when he was ready for it, he first thought fit to contrive *Eutropius*'s death. To which end whilst he was yet in *Phrygia*, he sent to the Emperour, and told him that he despair'd of any good success, since *Tribigildus* was so subtil a Warriour, and besides that, that it was impossible to sustein his fury or deliver *Asia* from the present extremities, unless the Emperour would be pleased to comply with his request, which was this: That *Eutropius* who was the greatest cause of all the mischief that had happen'd, might be delivered into his hands, to be disposed on as he thought fit.

Which when the Emperour *Arcadius* heard, he presently sent for *Eutropius*, degraded him from his Honours, and dismiss'd him. Whereupon he immediately ran into a Church of the Christians which by him was made a Sanctuary or Place of Refuge. But because *Gaines* was so urgent,

gent, and said that *Tribigildus* would never be quiet till *Eutropius* was removed, they took him by force (even against the Law for making Churches Sanctuaries,) and sent him into *Cyprus*, with a strict Guard upon him. But *Gaines* being still very instant and urging the Emperour *Arcadius* on still to take him off, the Emperour's Attendants made an equivocating evasion upon the Oath which was Sworn to *Eutropius* when he was dragg'd out of the Church, and caus'd him to be sent for back out of *Cyprus*; and then, as if they had onely sworn not to kill him as long as he was at *Constantinople*, they sent him to *Charcedon* and there murder'd him. Thus did Fortune deal very strangely with *Eutropius* on both hands, in raising him first to such an heighth as no Eunuch before had attain'd to, and then exposing him to death through the hatred which they who were Enemies to the Commonwealth profess'd against him.

But *Gaines* though he were now apparently inclined to innovation, yet thought himself undiscover'd: and therefore being absolute Master of *Tribigildus*'s Soul, for that he was much above him in Power and Authority, he personated him and made a Peace with the Emperour; and after having mutually both taken and gi

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ven their Oaths, he return'd again through *Phrygia* and *Lydia*. And that way *Tribigildus* follow'd him, marching through the upper *Lydia* in such a manner that he never set sight upon *Sardeis*, which is the Metropolis of *Lydia*. But when they were joyn'd into one body at *Thyatira*, *Tribigildus* repented that he had left *Sardeis* unsack'd, since it was so easy a matter to take a City, as that was, quite destitute of all defence. Wherefore he resolv'd to return thither along with *Gaines* and storm that City. And their design had certainly taken effect, if a great deal of Rain had not fallen which made a Flood upon the Land, and raised the Rivers so high that they were unpassable; whereby their journey was stopp'd. Whereupon they divided the Country between 'em, and led their Forces, *Gaines* toward *Bythinia*, and the other toward the *Hellespont*, permitting the *Barbarians* that follow'd 'em to plunder all before 'em. And by that time the one came to *Chalcedon*, the other had gotten possession of all the places near to *Lampsacus*; so that *Constantinople* and even the whole *Roman* Empire was in extream danger. And then did *Gaines* desire the Emperour would come to him, being resolv'd to parley with no body but him himself in Person. To which the Emperour submit

ted, and they met in a place near *Chalcedon*, where there is a Church dedicated to the holy Martyr *Euphemia*, who is honour'd for her devotion to Christ. And there it was agreed, that *Gaines* and *Tribigildus* should come over out of *Asia* into *Europe*, and that the most eminent Men in all the Commonwealth should be deliver'd into their hands to be put to death. Of which number were *Aurelianus*, who was that year Consul, and *Saturninus*, who had been a Consul, and *John*, whom the Emperour trusted with all his secrets, and who, many people said, was the Father of *Arcadius*'s Son.

And this request did the Emperour grant though it was so tyrannical. But when *Gaines* had gotten these Men in his clutches, he laid his Sword no more than just upon the skin of their Bodies, and was content to let them suffer banishment onely. After which he cross'd over into *Thrace*, whither he commanded *Tribigildus* to follow him, leaving *Asia*, that was now beginning to breath again, and like to be deliver'd from all those dangers which beset it. But whilst he lived at *Constantinople*, he dispersed his Soldiers into several quarters; insomuch, that he bereft the City even of the very Court-Guards; giving the *Barbarians* certain pri-

vate Signals, with a charge, that when they ſaw the Soldiers were gone out of the City, they ſhould immediately invade it, being now deſtitute of all defence, and deliver up the ſole Power to him alone.

Having given theſe Orders to the *Barbarians* under his Command, he went out of the City, pretending that the fatigue of War had made him ſick, and that he therefore wanted ſome refreſhment, which he ſhould never have, if he did not live ſome time without care. Wherefore he left the *Barbarians* in the City, who were a great many more in number than the Court-Guards, and retired to a *Villa* or Country-houſe, ſome forty furlongs from the City: whence he expected an opportunity of invading it, as ſoon as the *Barbarians* there ſhould have made their attempt. And as *Gaines* was fill'd with theſe hopes; ſo had he not been carry'd away with the heat of a *Barbarian*, and anticipated the proper ſeaſon for it, the *Barbarians* muſt of neceſſity have made themſelves Maſters of the City. But he not ſtaying for the Signal drew his Soldiers to the Wall, and thereby made the Sentinels who were affrighted at the ſight, give an Alarm. And thereupon immediately there was a general tumult, with lamentation of the Women, and ſuch promiſcuous

miſcuous cryes, as if the City had been already taken; till at length they ran all together and fell upon the *Barbarians* that were in the City. And when they had kill'd 'em with Swords, Stones, and other Weapons whatever came to their hands, they ran up upon the Wall, and with the aſſiſtance of the Guards ſo pelted *Gaines*'s Men, that they beat 'em off from coming into the City with every thing that fell in their way.

But when the City had thus eſcaped their danger, the *Barbarians* being enclo-ſed by thoſe within, and more than ſeven thouſand got into a Church belonging to the Chriſtians, that ſtands near the Pa-lace, making that their Sanctuary to pre-ſerve 'em; the Emperour commanded 'em to be ſlain even in that place, nor would he let it be a ſufficient refuge for 'em, whereby to avoid the juſt penalty which was due to their bold actions. But though the Emperour commanded it ſo to be, yet no Man durſt lay hands upon them, to pull 'em out of the Sanctuaries, for fear leſt they ſhould attempt to de-fend themſelves. They therefore thought it beſt to take off the roof of the Church over the *Altar* (as they call it) and that thoſe who were appointed for the pur-poſe, ſhould throw down fire-brands up-

on 'em ſo long till they had burnt 'em every man to death. And by this means were the *Barbarians* deſtroy'd; which to ſome that were very zealous for Chriſtianity ſeemed a moſt abominable crime to be committed in the midſt of ſuch a great City.

Now therefore when *Gaines* was diſappointed in this his great Attempt, he openly made preparation for a War againſt the Commonwealth. But ſetting firſt upon the Countries in *Thrace*, he found their Cities well fenced with Walls, and guarded by the Magiſtrates and Inhabitants. For they having been uſed to Wars and taught by former incurſions how to take care of themſelves, were ready to fight with all their ſouls: wherefore *Gaines*, ſeeing nothing left without their Walls but Graſs (for they had gathered up all kind of Fruits, Cattel and other proviſions) he reſolv'd to leave *Thrace* and make haſte into *Cherroneſus*, with an intention to return through the Streights of the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*. But whilſt he was deliberating upon theſe matters, the Emperour and Senate with one accord choſe *Fraiutus* General for the War againſt *Gaines*; who though he were a *Barbarian* born, yet he was a *Grecian* in all other reſpects, and that not onely in his manner

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of living, but in his Mind and Religion. And therefore to him (who had been a famous Leader in many Wars and freed all the East from *Cilicia* to *Phenice* and *Paleſtine*, from the plague of Robbers) did they commit the conduct of their Army. Which when he had receiv'd, he oppoſed *Gaines*, not ſuffering the *Barbarians* to paſs over the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*. But whilſt that *Gaines* was a preparing for their fight, *Fraiutus* could not endure his Men ſhould be idle, and therefore kept 'em to continual exerciſe; by which he made 'em ſo fit for ſervice, that, inſtead of their former ſloth and lazineſs, they were diſcontented that *Gaines* delay'd the War ſo long.

Thus was *Fraiutus* employ'd in *Aſia*, viewing not onely his own Camp both Night and Day, but obſerving alſo the motions of the Enemy: Beſides which, he likewiſe took care of the ſhipping. For he had a Fleet enough to maintain a Sea fight, of Ships call'd [*Liburnæ*] from a Town in *Italy* [called *Liburnia*] where that ſort of Ships were firſt built. And theſe Ships ſeem'd to have been as ſwift-ſailers as thoſe with fifty Oars, though they were much inferiour to them of three Oars to each bank, and have not been built of a long time. Yet *Polybius* the

Hiſtorian ſeems to tell us the proportions of Six Oared Ships, which the *Romans* and the *Carthaginians* ſeem to have uſed in their fights againſt one another. But in the mean time *Gaines* having forced his way through the *Long-Wall* into *Cherroneſus*, had ranged his Men all along that riſing ſhoar in *Thrace*, that reaches from over againſt *Parium* as far as *Lampſacus*, *Abydus*, and thoſe places that make that ſtreight Sea. Whilſt, on the other hand, the *Roman* General ſailed all about *Aſia*, both Night and Day to pry into the Enemies deſigns. But *Gaines*, for want of neceſſary proviſions, being troubled that the time was ſo protracted, cut down a quantity of Timber Trees out of a Wood in *Cherroneſus*, which he faſten'd together very accurately, and making them fit to receive both Men and Horſes, ſet his Men and their Horſes upon them and ſo let 'em ſwim with the Stream, or Tide. For they could not be either managed with Oars, or any otherwiſe admit of the Pilot's Skill, being made ſo in haſte without any Art at all, by the rude contrivance of *Barbarians*. But he himſelf ſtaid upon the ſhoar, in hopes that he ſhould quickly get the Victory, for that the *Romans* could not be any way ſtrong enough to grapple with his Men in this engagement. Nor was the wiſe

Roman

Roman General unaware of that truth; and therefore giving a gueſs what was to be done, commanded his Ships to put a little off from the Land: and ſeeing the Tumultuary Veſſels of the *Barbarians* carry'd down with the ſtream whereſoever it drave them, he firſt attaqued one that came in the foremoſt range of Timber, and having a Ship with a brazen Stem, was much too ſtrong for it; for he not onely bore hard upon it with his Ship, but ſo pelted the Men that were upon it with Darts that he ſunk both that and them together. Which when the reſt of his Ships Crews ſaw, and imitated, they kill'd ſome with Darts, whilſt ſome fell off the Timbers and were drown'd, nor could any one of 'em hardly eſcape death. At which great Overthrow *Gaines* being much concern'd, and knowing not what to do, ſince he had loſt ſo many of his Fellow-Soldiers, he removed a little out of *Cherroneſus* into that part of *Thrace* that lies beyond it. But *Fraiutus* at that time did not think fit to follow *Gaines* in his flight, but muſter'd up his Men in the ſame place, and was content with the Victory that Fortune had beſtow'd upon him. And when almoſt all People accuſed *Fraiutus* for not purſuing *Gaines*, but ſparing him, becauſe *Gaines* and thoſe that

fled away with him, were *Fraiutus*'s Countrymen, yet he, who was conſcious of no ſuch thing, return'd to the Emperour, very proud of his Victory, which he freely and boldly imputed to the favour of the Gods whom he worſhip'd. For he was not aſhamed, even in the Emperour's preſence, to profeſs, that he worſhip'd and honour'd the Gods after the ancient way of his Forefathers, and could not follow the vulgar people in that caſe. So the Emperor receiv'd him very kindly and made him Conſul. But *Gaines* in the mean while, having loſt moſt part of his Army, as I told you, ran away with the reſt to the River *Iſter*: where ſeeing *Thrace* laid waſte by the former inroads into it, he plunder'd every thing that came to his hand. but fearing, leſt another *Roman* Army ſhould follow him and attaque his *Barbarians*, who were but few, and beſides that, ſuſpecting thoſe *Romans* who went along with him, he kill'd 'em every Man, before they knew any thing of his intention, and afterward with his *Barbarians* croſſed the *Iſter* with a deſign to go into his own Country and there ſpend the reſt of his days.

But whilſt *Gaines* was doing this, one *Vldes*, who at that time was Prince of the *Hunns*, believing it unſafe for him to ſuffer

ſuffer a *Barbarian* with an Army of his own at his heels, to have any habitation beyond the *Iſter*; and at the ſame time ſuppoſing that he ſhould gratifie the Emperour if he expell'd him out of the Country, provided to fight him, and having muſter'd up a conſiderable number of Men put 'em into Battalia againſt the Enemy. So likewiſe *Gaines* on the other ſide, ſeeing he could neither return to the *Romans*, nor otherwiſe eſcape the ſhock that *Vldes* had threatned, arm'd thoſe Men whom he had with him, and met the *Hunns*. And after ſeveral Engagements between the two Armies, in ſome of which *Gaines*'s party bore up very ſtoutly, at laſt, after many of his Men were ſlain, even *Gaines* himſelf alſo was kill'd, though he fought with great courage and bravery.

And now the War being ended by the death of *Gaines*, that *Vldes*, the Prince of the *Hunns* ſent his Head to *Arcadius* the Emperor, and was rewarded for ſodoing: Whereupon he made a League with the *Romans*. But Affairs being carry'd without any conduct, becauſe the Emperour had no Prudence at all, the Eſtate of *Thrace* was again diſturbed. For there were a company of Fugitive Slaves, and others that had run away from their ranks, pretending themſelves to be

be *Hunns*, pillaged all the Fields and took whatever they found without doors; till ſuch time as *Fraiutus* went againſt 'em and killing all he litt upon, put the Inhabitants out of fear. - - - - - - - - - - Here is a Chaſme, which 'tis in vain for any one to think of filling up, unleſs he gives himſelf the liberty of onely gueſſing at it. The ſenſe therefore, ſuch as may be deduced from the precedent paſſages, is this. *Gaines* formerly required that *Aurelianus*, *Saturninus*, and *Johannes* ſhould be deliver'd into his hands, that he might puniſh 'em as he pleas'd; and therefore, 'tis probable, he committed 'em to Cuſtody till he ſhould think fit to inflict ſome puniſhment upon them. But when *Fraiutus* purſu'd the remaining part of *Gaines*'s Army, who was now kill'd, the Keepers gave their Priſoners free leave to eſcape, for fear leſt they ſhould fare but very hardly if they fell into *Fraiutus*'s hands. Hence does *Sylburgius* conjecture that [λίαν] *i.e.* in Latin Characters [*liam*] is the latter end of the word [Θεσσαλίαν] [*Theſſaliam*] or Παραλίαν] *Paraliam*] which ſignifies, near the Sea-Coaſt; into which Country *Fraiutus* deſign'd to go over, to catch the Traitors and puniſh 'em according to their demerits, and then you muſt ſuppoſe that the next words relate

late to them when it is ſaid --fearing leſt they ſhould be but roughly dealt withal. But meeting with him they landed in *Epirus*, where conſulting how to ſave themſelves, (for they were in great danger upon the account of their extraordinary Offence) they gave their Priſoners an opportunity to eſcape: though others ſay, they gave Mony to be diſmiſs'd. But howſoever they got away, they came back to *Conſtantinople* beyond all expectation, where they appear'd before the Emperour, the Senate and all other People.

Now from this time was the hatred which the Empereſs had conceiv'd againſt *John* (who was a Chriſtian Biſhop) very much increaſed; for though ſhe had been diſpleaſed at him formerly, for being ſomewhat ſharp upon her in his publick Homilies before the People, yet at this juncture, when he and the other two were come home again, ſhe broke out into an open abhorrence of him. Wherefore to ſatisfie her paſſion, ſhe did both what ſhe pleaſed, and what ſhe could to make the Biſhops in all places conſent to *John*'s removal; of whom the firſt and chiefeſt was *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, who was the firſt that oppoſed the ancient holy Rites and Ceremonies. And though indeed there was a Debate propoſed to be

held

held about it, yet *John* ſeeing that things did not proceed with ſuch equity as they ought to have done, went out of *Conſtantinople* of his own accord. At which the People being diſturb'd (for he was excellent good at obliging the brutiſh common People) the City was in a Tumult, and the Chriſtian Church was fill'd with them, that they call *Monks*. Now theſe are a ſort of Men that abſtain from lawful marriage, and furniſh populous Colleges, in ſeveral Cities and Villages, with unmarried Men, who are not fit for War, nor any other ſervice in the Commonwealth: ſave onely, that by going on in their way, from that time to this, they have gotten a great deal of Land into their poſſeſſion, and under pretence of charity to the Poor, have made (I had almoſt ſaid) all other Men, Beggars. And theſe Men having gotten into the Churches, hinder'd the People from coming to their uſual Devotion. At which the People and the Soldiers too were ſo vex'd, that they deſired to correct, and lop off (as it were) the luxuriant boldneſs of the Monks. And having the Signal given 'em for the ſame purpoſe, they march'd out boldly and without any tryal or examination put 'em all to the Sword, till they fill'd the Church with dead bodies, and purſuing thoſe that

ran

ran away wounded every Man that they met in black Clothes. Among whom many died by miſtake, who either were in mourning, or upon any other occaſion were in ſuch a habit.

But by this time *John* being returned attempted the ſame things over again, and ſtirr'd up the like troubles in the City: where the number of Sycophants being now greater than ever they had been, and always attending upon the Court-Eunuchs, if any rich Man died, they brought an account of his Eſtate, as if he had had no Children or Relations. Whereupon the Emperour's Letters were iſſued out, to command that *John Doe* ſhould have *Richard Roes* Eſtate. Nay, Mens Inheritances were diſpoſed of to any that beg'd 'em, though the Children of the Party ſtood by lamenting and calling upon their Parents. In fine, there was nothing but fill'd the Cities and Towns with ſorrow, and did the Inhabitants an unreaſonable deal of injury. For the Emperour being a meer Fool, his Wife, who was arrogant above all the reſt of Woman kind, and devoted both to the inſatiable avarice of Eunuchs and the Women who were about her, and ruled her moſt, made every body weary of their life; inſomuch that to modeſt People nothing was more eligible than Death.

And

And as if these things were not sufficient, there was misfortune that fell upon *Constantinople* much greater than can be expres'd, in this manner. *John*, as I told you, coming home again after his banishment, and instigating the People against the Empress in his usual Homilies or Sermons, and seeing himself expell'd both from the Sea Episcopal as also from the City, took shipping and left the Town. But those that were of his Party, endeavouring to procure that no Man should be Bishop after, resolv'd to destroy the City by Fire. And to that end having privately set fire to a Church in the Night-time, and got them out of the City at break of Day (whereby they prevented the discovery of who they were) as soon as it was broad day they shew'd all the People in what extremity of danger the City was. For not onely that Church was burn'd to the ground, but the contiguous Houses also were consumed, especially those upon whom the violence of the Wind drove the fire. But besides them, the fire caught in the Senate-House, which stood before the Palace, and was a most beautiful, magnificent Structure. For it was adorn'd with the Statues of famous Artists, that look'd very gloriously, and with such colours in Marble, as are not now to be found

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in any Mines. Nay, they ſay, that thoſe Images, which were formerly conſecrated in *Helicon* to the *Muſes*, and in the time of *Conſtantine* were ſufferers by that univerſal Sacriledg, being ſet up and dedicated in this place were burn'd at the ſame time, to ſignifie that diſaffection which all Men ſhould one day bear to the *Muſes*.

But becauſe there was a kind of Miracle wrought at that time, I think it worth the relating. This Temple of the Senate, for the ſake of which I tell you this Story, had the Statues of *Jupiter* and *Minerva* before the doors of it, ſtanding upon two ſtone Pedeſtals, as they do to this day. Now they ſay, that of *Jupiter* is *Jupiter Dodonæus*, and the other, of *Minerva*, the ſame which was formerly conſecrated in *Lindus*. When therefore the fire had conſumed all the Temple, the Lead upon the roof alſo being melted ran down upon the Statues, as likewiſe all the ſtones that could not reſiſt the force of the fire fell upon them, till at laſt when the beauty of the building was all turn'd into one heap of rubbiſh, it was the common Opinion that theſe two Statues alſo were reduced to aſhes. But when the place was cleanſed and ready to be rebuilt, upon it ſhew'd the Statues

tues of those two Deities onely, which had escaped the universal ruine. Which Accident gave all those who were above the ordinary rank of Men some better hopes of the City, as if these Deities resolv'd to take continual care of it.

But let these things go as God will have 'em; [whilst I return thither from whence I digress'd.] Now all People being sorry for this calamity of the City, though they found no reason for it but *blind Chance* (as the saying is) the Emperour's Attendants were intent upon the rebuilding of the ruinated Houses. But at the same time it was reported at Court, that a great number of *Isaurians*, who live above *Pamphylia* and *Cilicia* continually in the craggy inaccessible Mountains of *Taurus*, being divided into several Bands of Robbers, invaded the adjacent Champaign Country. And though they were not strong enough to attack the walled Towns, yet they over-ran all the unwalled Villages and plunder'd all before 'em. For the former ravage which was committed there by *Tribigildus* and his *Barbarians*, made their present incursions the more easy. But when this news was brought, *Arbazacius* was sent out as General, to assist the oppressed *Pamphylians*. Who having got a good competent Army along with

with him, and purſu'd the Robbers up into the Mountains, he took moſt of their Villages, and kill'd abundance of Men. And indeed he might eaſily have perfectly ſubdu'd 'em, and put the Towns in abſolute ſecurity, had he not remitted great part of his vigour by giving himſelf up to luxury and filthy pleaſures, or through his covetouſneſs preferr'd Riches before the publick good. For which his treacherous behaviour being ſummon'd to appear before the Emperor, he expected to be try'd, but by giving part of that which he took from the *Iſaurians* to the Empereſs, he not onely eſcaped the Law, but ſpent the reſt of his Money in ſuch pleaſures as that City afforded.

Thus did the *Iſaurians* content themſelves with private Robberies, and were not yet broken out into an open invaſion upon the neighbouring Nations. But in the mean time *Alarichus*, being departed (as I told you before) out of *Peloponneſus*, and all that Country which the River *Achelous* paſſes through, he made an Halt in *Epirus*, where the *Moloſſians*, the *Theſprotians*, and other People live, as far as *Epidamnus* and the *Taulantians* Country, to wait till *Stilico* had brought about what they had agreed upon, which was this: *Stilico* ſeeing that *Arcadius*'s Miniſters of

State were disaffected to him, intended, by the assistance of *Alarichus*, to add all the *Illyrian* Countries to the Empire of *Honorius*. And having made a compact with *Alarichus* to that purpose, he expected shortly to put his design in execution. But whilst *Alarichus* waited his Commands, one *Rhodogaisus* having muster'd up four hundred thousand of the *Celtick* and the *German* People that live beyond the *Ister*, and the *Rhine*, made preparations to pass over into *Italy*. Which News when it was first told put all People into a consternation; and yet though the several Towns were fallen into despair, and even *Rome* it self very apprehensive of its extream danger, *Stilico* took all the Forces with him which were at *Ticinum* in *Liguria* (which were some thirty Companies) with all the Auxiliaries that he could get of the *Alani* and the *Hunni*, and without staying for the Enemies coming, cross'd the *Ister* with his whole Army. By which means setting upon the *Barbarians* before they were aware, he utterly destroy'd their whole Forces, insomuch that none of 'em escaped except some few that he added to the *Roman* Auxiliaries. Now *Stilico* being, as you may guess, very proud of this Victory, he return'd with his Army and had Garlands given

given him by almoſt all People, as having ſo ſtrangely deliver'd *Italy* from the dangers that ſhe ſo much fear'd or expected. But at *Ravenna* (which is the Metropolis of *Flaminia* [*Romagnia*] an ancient City, and a Colony of the *Theſſalians*, called *Rhene*, becauſe the Water runs round it [as the word *Rhene* imports] and not as *Olympiodorus* of *Thebes* ſays, that it was ſo called from *Remus*, Brother to *Romulus*, who was the builder of it; for he muſt leave that to *Quadratus*, who hath mention'd this very matter in his Hiſtory of the Emperour *Marcus*) at this ſame *Ravenna*, I ſay, *Stilico* being intent upon his preparations to attaque the *Illyrian* Cities, and by the help of *Alarichus* not onely to draw 'em off from *Arcadius*, but to joyn 'em to the Empire of *Honorius*, there happen'd two impediments to fall at once in his way: which were, a report that *Alarichus* was dead, and Letters of the Emperour *Honorius* from *Rome*, that gave him account how *Conſtantine* was turn'd Rebel and come out of the Iſland of *Britain* into the Countries beyond the *Alps* where he carry'd himſelf in their Cities like an Emperour. But the diſcourſe concerning *Alarichus*'s death ſeem'd to be doubtful, before certain Perſons came and aſſured him how it really was.

But what was ſaid of *Conſtantine*'s ſetting up for the Empire was believ'd by all Men. By which means *Stilico* being hinder'd from his intended expedition againſt the *Illyrians* came to *Rome*, to conſult with others concerning the preſent State of Affairs.

But after *Autumn*, when Winter was come on (*Baſſus* and *Philippus* being choſen Conſuls) the Emperour *Honorius*, who had long loſt his Wife *Maria*, deſired to have her Siſter *Thermantia*. But *Stilico* ſeemed not to approve of that Propoſal, though *Serena* promoted it, as having a mind it ſhould be a Match, upon this ſcore: When *Mary* was to be married to *Honorius*, her Mother ſeeing the Damſel too young for an Husband, and yet being unwilling to defer the Marriage, though ſhe thought that, to let a Man lie with ſuch a tender Creature, was to offer violence to Nature, ſhe got a certain Woman who knew how to manage ſuch Affairs, and, by her means contrived it ſo, that *Maria* ſhould live with the Emperour, and be his Bedfellow, but that he neither ſhould nor could do Family-duty to her. But, in the mean time the Damſel died a pure Virgin, and ſo *Serena*, who, you may well imagine, was deſirous to be Grandmother to a young Emperour or Empereſs, for fear

of

of having her great Power leſſen'd, did what ſhe could to marry her other Daughter to *Honorius*. Which being brought to paſs, the Girl not long after died, in the ſame manner as the former did. And about the ſame time *Stilico* was informed, that *Alarichus* having left *Epirus*, and got through thoſe Streights that obſtruct the paſſage from *Pannonia* to *Venice*, had pitch'd his Camp at a Town called *Emo*, which lies between the upper *Pannonia* and *Noricum*. Now it is worth while to remark, what is obſervable concerning this ſame Town, and how it came firſt to be built. They ſay, that the *Argonautes* being purſued by *Aetas*, arrived at the mouth of the *Iſter* where it diſembogues it ſelf into the *Pontus*, and thought it the beſt way for 'em to go up this River againſt the ſtream with the help of Oars, and a convenient gale of Wind together till they came nearer to the Sea. And when they had ſo done, and were arrived at this Place, they left a memorial of their coming to it, which was the building of this Town, and afterward putting their Ship, the *Argo*, upon Machines or Engines for the purpoſe, they drew it four hundred furlongs off, even to the Sea ſide and ſo arrived at the *Theſſalian* ſhore, as *Piſander* the Poet ſays, who has comprehended almoſt the whole Story in

a Poem, called *The Heroick marriages of the Gods*. But *Alarichus* having march'd out of *Emo*, and, croſſing the River *Aquilis*, got over the *Apennine* Mountains, came into *Noricum*. Now the *Apennine* Mountains lie juſt upon the borders of *Pannonia*, and make the way to *Noricum* very narrow; and therefore though the Paſs be kept by a ſmall Guard, a great number muſt labour hard to get through it. But notwithſtanding the difficulty, *Alarichus* marched through into *Noricum* and from thence an Embaſſy to *Stilico*, to deſire a ſupply of Money not only upon the account of his ſtay in *Epirus*, which he ſaid was made by the perſuaſions of *Stilico*, but alſo to defray his Journey into *Noricum* and *Italy*. But *Stilico*, though he receiv'd the Embaſſy, left the Embaſſadours at *Ravenna* and went himſelf to *Rome*, with a deſign to conſult the Emperour and the Senate in the Affair. But when the Senate met at the Imperial Palace, and propoſed to debate whether they ſhould proclaim a War or no, they were moſt of 'em for fighting. Onely *Stilico* and ſome few others, who comply'd with him out of pure fear, were of a contrary Opinion, and voted for a Peace with *Alarichus*. Now therefore when thoſe that were for a War, deſired

to

to know of *Stilico*, why he was more for Peace than War; nay, to the diſhonour of the *Roman* Name and glory, would meanly purchaſe it with Money. He reply'd; *Alarichus* has ſtay'd thus long in *Epirus*, that he may joyn with me in a War againſt the Emperour of the Weſt, and drawing the *Illyrians* from under that Dominion, make them additional Subjects to *Honorius*. And this had been done before that time [he ſaid] if the Emperour *Honorius*'s Letters had not come in the mean while and ſtop'd his Journey into the Eaſt, in expectation whereof *Alarichus* had ſpent ſo much time in that Country. And as *Stilico* ſaid theſe words, he produced an Epiſtle from the Emperour, and ſaid, *Serena* was the cauſe of all, as being minded to preſerve an inviolable friendſhip between the two Emperours.

Since therefore they all thought *Stilico* ſpoke nothing but reaſon, the Senate was pleas'd to order that *Alarichus* ſhould have three thouſand pounds upon the account of a Peace, though moſt of 'em gave their Votes more out of fear to *Stilico* than their own judgment or inclination. For that was the reaſon that *Lampadius*, a Perſon of great Birth and Quality, having utter'd this *Latin* Sentence [*Non eſt iſta Pax, ſed Pactio Servitutis*] which in

Engliſh is thus [This is not the bond of Peace but of Slavery] was ſain, as ſoon as the Senate was diſmiſs'd, to fly into a neighbouring Church belonging to the Chriſtians, for fear of ſuffering for the freedom, that he took in ſo ſaying.

When therefore *Stilico* had made the Peace with *Alarichus* after this manner, he prepared himſelf very earneſtly for his Journey, to put his deſigns in execution. But the Emperour ſaid that he would go alſo from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, to view and congratulate the Army, eſpecially ſince ſuch and ſo great an Enemy was come into *Italy*: though he did not ſay ſo of his own inclination but was perſuaded to it by *Serena*. For ſhe had a mind to have him live in a ſecurer City, ſo that if *Alarichus* ſhould break the Peace and invade *Rome*, he might not take the Emperour too: but ſhe was the more zealous to preſerve him, ſince her own ſafety depended upon his. But *Stilico*, being much againſt the Emperours going to *Ravenna*, contrived many Obſtacles to hinder it. To which ſeeing the Emperour for all that would not give way, but was ſtill intent upon his Journey, one *Sarus*, a *Barbarian*, and Captain of a Company of *Barbarians* at *Ravenna*, made a mutiny before the City at the inſtigation of *Stilico*: not that

that he really design'd to put things into a confusion, but to frighten the Emperour out of his intention of coming to *Ravenna*. But seeing the Emperour persisted in his resolution, *Justinianus*, an excellent Lawyer at *Rome*, whom *Stilico* made his Assistant and Counsellor, through the sagacity of his judgment, seemed to give a shrew'd guess at what the Design was upon which the Emperour took that Journey; and that the Soldiers who were in *Ticinum*, and disaffected to *Stilico* (when the Emperour came thither) would reduce him into very dangerous circumstances. Wherefore he continually advised him to persuade the Emperour out of his present intentions. But when he saw the Emperour would not hearken to *Stilico*'s Counsel, he went away from him, lest he through his familiarity with *Stilico* should have suffer'd under the same misfortune.

But before this time there had been a report at *Rome*, that the Emperour *Arcadius* was dead, which was confirm'd after the Emperour *Honorius* went for *Ravenna*: and therefore seeing *Stilico* was at *Ravenna*, whilst the Emperour was at a City in *Æmilia*, called *Bononia*, some seventy Miles (as they call 'em [in *Latin*, *Septuaginta Millarium spatio*] he sent for *Stilico*

lico to chaſtize the Soldiers who mutiny'd by the way among themſelves. Whereupon when *Stilico* had gather'd the mutinous Soldiers together, and told 'em that the Emperour had not onely commanded him to correct 'em for it, but to make a Decumation or Tithing, among 'em, and puniſh all the moſt guilty with death [by picking out every tenth Man] he put 'em into ſuch a fright, that they all burſt out into tears, and deſiring him to take pity on them, made him promiſe them the Emperour's Pardon. And when the Emperour had performed what he had promis'd they apply'd themſelves to publick buſineſs. For *Stilico* was deſirous to go into the Eaſt, or manage Affairs for *Theodoſius* (Son to *Arcadius*) who was very young and wanted a Governour. And *Honorius* himſelf alſo was a thinking to go the ſame Journey, with a deſign to ſecure that young Emperour's Dominions. But *Stilico*, being diſguſted upon that account, and ſhewing him by computation what a vaſt Sum of Money it would coſt him to defray ſuch an expedition, deterr'd the Emperour from that enterpriſe. But he told him likewiſe that *Conſtantine*'s Rebellion would not permit him to go ſo far off as not to take care of *Italy* and *Rome* it ſelf, ſince that Uſurper

ſurper *Conſtantine* had over-ran all *Gallia* and lived then at *Orleance*. Nay more, that, though what he had ſaid was enough to deſerve the Emperour's care and Preſence, *Alarichus* alſo was acoming with ſuch a vaſt Army of *Barbarians*; who as he was a *Barbarian* and a faithleſs Fellow, ſo when he found *Italy* deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, would certainly invade it. Wherefore he thought it the beſt Counſel, and moſt conducing to publick good, for *Alarichus* to undertake the Expedition againſt that Rebel *Conſtantine*, along with part of his *Barbarians*, ſome *Roman* Legions and their Officers, who ſhould be ſharers with him in the War; and then, for *Stilico* himſelf to go into the Eaſt, if the Emperour commanded it, and would give him inſtructions what to do there.

The Emperour, who thought that *Stilico* ſaid nothing but what was right, gave him Letters both to the Emperour of the Eaſt and to *Alarichus*, and ſo departed from *Bononia*. But *Stilico* ſtay'd there, and went neither into the Eaſt, nor did any thing elſe that was deſign'd. Nay he did not ſo much as ſend over any of thoſe Soldiers, that were in *Ticinum*, to *Ravenna*, or any other place, leſt they ſhould meet the Emperour by the way and ſet him upon doing ſomething to his prejudice.

But

But *Stilico* being in these circumstances, though he were conscious of no ill intention either against the Emperor or Soldiers, one * *Olympius*, who was born near the *Euxine* Sea, and a great Officer in the Court Guards, concealing a great deal of wickedness in his heart under the disguise of Christian Religion, and being used to have frequent Discourses with the Emperour upon the account of his pretended modesty and good carriage, said many a *stabbing word* (to speak Poetically) against *Stilico*, and that he desired to go into the East for no other reason but to get an opportunity of removing young *Theodosius*, and putting the Empire into the hands of his own Son, *Eucherius*. And these things he told the Emperour as they travelled along, having a good occasion then to do it. But when the Emperour was at *Ticinum*, *Olympius*, using to visit the sick Soldiers (which was the very Masterpiece of all his hypocritical virtue) he dispersed such incantations [or false insinuating Stories] among them too. But when the Emperor had been four days at

* When *Stilico* did what he could to put the Court into Confusion, as *Zosimus* says, *b.* 9. *c* 4. *Olympius*, discovering his design, acquainted *Honorius*, that *Stilico* endeavour'd to get the Empire into his own hands, and make his Son *Eucherius* his Partner in it, *who was no doubt a* Gentile *and an Enemy to the Christians.* And therefore we may the less admire why he is painted in such colours by *Zosimus*, with whom it is equivolent to all other Crimes, *meerly to be a Christian.*

at *Ticinum*, all the Soldiers being call'd together into the Court, the Emperour appear'd before 'em,, and encouraged 'em to a War againſt the Rebel, *Conſtantine*. And ſeeing no body was moved at any thing concerning *Stilico*, *Olympius* was obſerved to nod toward the Soldiers, as if he would have put them in mind of what he had ſaid to 'em in private. At which they were almoſt mad, and kill'd *Limenius*, who was Prefect of the Court in the Nations beyond the *Alps*, and with him one *Chariobaudes*, who was General of the Legions in thoſe parts. For theſe two had by chance eſcaped the Tyrants hands and were come to the Emperour at *Ticinum*. But beſides theſe two there were ſlain, *Vincentius* and *Salvius*, the one General of the Horſe, and the other Commander of the Domeſtick Forces. But ſeeing the Tumult encreaſed, the Emperour retired into the Palace, and ſome of the Magiſtates eſcaped, and then the Soldiers diſperſing themſelves about the City, kill'd as many of the Magiſtrates as they could, pulling them out of the Houſes into which they had fled; and plunder'd all the Town: Inſomuch that when the Diſeaſe was paſt all cure, the Emperour put on a ſhort Coat, without either his long Robe or his Diadem;

dem; and coming forth into the midst of the City, had very much ado to restrain and curb the fury of the People. For those Magistrates also, who were taken even after their flight, were cut off; as *Næmorius*, Master of the Court-bands, and *Petronius*, the Treasurer and Stewart of the Emperor's private Patrimony; besides *Salvius*, whose Office it was to declare what the Emperour thought fit to do [upon any occasion] and was called *Quæstor* ever since the time of *Constantine*. Nor could this Man escape Death, though he embraced and hugg'd the Emperour's feet. But the Tumult continuing till late at Night, and the Emperour fearing lest any thing should be committed against his own Person also, (for which reason he withdrew) they happening to find *Longinianus*, who was Prefect of the Court in *Italy*, kill'd him. Now all these Magistrates were slain by the mad Soldiers: but there perish'd of promiscuous people also so great a number as cannot easily be computed.

When this news came to *Stilico*, who was then at *Bononia*, a City of *Æmilia* (as I told you) it troubled him extreamly. And therefore calling together all the Commanders of his Confederate *Barbarians* who were with him, he proposed a Consul-

Conſultation concerning what was moſt fit to be done. And there it was agreed by common conſent, that if the Emperour were ſlain (which was yet doubtful) all the Confederate *Barbarians* at one time ſhould joyn together and fall upon the *Roman* Soldiers, and by that means make all others more modeſt and civil. But if the Emperour appear'd to be ſafe, though the Magiſtrates were taken off, that then the Authors of the Tumult ſhould be brought to condign puniſhment. And this was the reſult of that Conſultation into which *Stilico* enter'd with his *Barbarians*. But when they knew that there was no indignity offer'd to the Emperour's Perſon, *Stilico* reſolv'd to proceed no farther in puniſhing or correcting of the Soldiers, but to return to *Ravenna*. For he conſider'd both the number of the Soldiers, and ſaw likewiſe that the Emperour was not ſtedfaſtly his Friend; nor did he think it either honeſt or ſafe to ſet *Barbarians* upon the *Roman* Army.

Now therefore *Stilico* being very anxious about theſe things, the *Barbarians* that were about him were very deſirous to make their former reſolutions valid, and therefore endeavour'd to perſuade him from thoſe things that he afterwards thought fit to be done. But being not able to perſuade

perſuade him, all the reſt determined to ſtay in ſome place or other till they were better inform'd what the Emperour's Opinion was of *Stilico*; onely *Sarus*, who excell'd all the other Confederates in ſtrength and dignity, together with thoſe *Barbarians* that were under him, having kill'd all the *Hunns* that were *Stilico's* Life-guard (whilſt they were aſleep) and taken all his Carriages that follow'd him, went into his Tent, in which he ſtay'd to expect what would be the iſſue [of ſuch actions.] Whereupon *Stilico* ſeeing his *Barbarians* fell out among one another, went away to *Ravenna*, and engaged the Cities, in which there were any Women or Children belonging to the *Barbarians*, to receive ne'r a Soul of the *Barbarians*, if they came to 'em [for ſhelter.] But in the mean time *Olympius* being now grown Maſter of the King's Will, ſent the Imperial Letters to the Soldiers at *Ravenna*, to command 'em preſently to apprehend *Stilico* and keep him in *Priſon without Fetters*. Which when *Stilico* heard of, he got into a Church of the Chriſtians which was near, whilſt it was yet Night; and his *Barbarians*, as alſo his other familiars, who, with his Servants were all arm'd, ſeeing that, expected what would follow. And when it was Day, the Soldiers going

ing into the Church and ſwearing before the Biſhop, that they were commanded by the Emperour not to kill him, but onely to keep him in cuſtody. But when he was got out of the Church and in the Soldiers cuſtody, there were other Letters deliver'd by him that brought the former, wherein the penalty of Death was inflicted upon *Stilico* for his offences againſt the Commonwealth; inſomuch that whilſt *Encherius* his Son fled away at this juncture toward *Rome*, *Stilico* was led to execution. But when the *Barbariant* about him, with his Servants and other Friends or Relations (of whom there were a vaſt number) were prepared and reſolv'd to reſcue him from the blow, *Stilico* deterred 'em from the enterpriſe with all fearful menaces imaginable, and in a manner ſubmitted his Neck to the Sword, being the moſt modeſt and juſteſt Perſon of almoſt all thoſe that were Men of great Authority in his time. For though he married *Theodoſius* the elder Brother's Daughter [or *Theodoſius* the elder's Neece by his Brother's ſide] and was entruſted with both the Empires of his two Sons, yea, had been a Commander twenty three years, yet he never appear'd to make military Officers for Mony, or to convert the Soldiers allowance to his own uſe. And

being the Father of one Son onely he propoſed a dignity, or preferment to him, which was to be Tribune of the *Notaries* (as they call that Officer) and limited him that he ſhould never deſire or ſeek after any other Power or Authority. Now therefore that ſtudious Men or Aſtrologers may not be ignorant when he died, it was under the Conſulſhip of *Baſſus* and *Philippus*, in which alſo the Emperour *Arcadius* ſubmitted to Fate, upon the 22d of *Auguſt*.

When *Stilico* was dead, all the Affairs of the Court were managed by *Olympius*, according to his own will and pleaſure; and *Olympius* too had the Office of *Magiſter*, i. e. Maſter of the Court, whilſt the Emperour diſtributed the reſt to thoſe whom *Olympius* thought fit to recommend. But in the mean while not onely all his Friends, but even all others that had any kindneſs for *Stilico* were ſought out; and of that number *Deuterius* who was Captain of the Guard of the Imperial Bed-Chamber was called in queſtion, as alſo *Petrus*, Tribune of the Company of *Notaries*: and when they had been put to the publick Torture, to make 'em confeſs ſomething concerning *Stilico*, yet, they having nothing to ſay either againſt him or themſelves either, *Olympius* failed of his

his deſire, but cauſed them to be drubb'd to Death with Cudgels. And though many others that were ſuſpected to be *Stilico*'s Friends and conſcious of his Deſigns, were call'd to queſtion and put to the Torture, to make 'em confeſs whether they knew of his Ambition to be Emperour, yet ſeeing ne'r a man of 'em would ſay any ſuch thing, the curious enquirers into ſuch matters deſiſted from their enterpriſe. But in the mean time *Honorius* the Emperour commanded his Wife *Thermantia* to be taken from the Imperial Throne and reſtored to her Mother, who for all that was not at all ſuſpicacious: and order'd *Eucherius*, *Stilico*'s Son, to be ſearch'd for and put to death. Whom when they had found in a Church at *Rome*, into which he had fled, they let him alone out of reſpect to the place. Whilſt at the ſame time and in the ſame City of *Rome* one *Heliocrates*, who was the Treaſurer, produced the Emperour's Letter, commanding that all who had born any Office in the time of *Stilico*, ſhould be confiſcated, and thereby was totally imploy'd in gathering Mony into the Treaſury. But as if theſe things were not enough to ſatisfie that evil Genius that captivated mankind in Chains of Wickedneſs and confounded all things

by a neglect of holy Rites, there was an addition made to all their former misfortunes, which was thus:

The Soldiers that were in the City, when they heard of *Stilico*'s death, fell upon all the Women and Children, that were in the City, belonging to the *Barbarians:* and having, as it were by a Signal, destroy'd 'em every Soul, they plunder'd 'em of all they had. Which when the Relations of those that were slain came to hear, they met together from all quarters; and being mightily incensed at the *Romans* for such an impious breach of their words which they had passed in the presence of the Gods, they all resolv'd to joyn themselves to *Alarichus*, and be his assistants in the War against *Rome*. Whereupon having muster'd up something more than thirty thousand Men, they Rendezvouz'd where they pleased. But *Alarichus* was not sufficiently excited even by these Men to undertake a War, but still preferr'd Peace, remembring the League which he made with *Stilico*. He therefore sent Embassadours and desired to purchase a Peace, though with a small sum of Money, as likewise to have *Ætius* and *Jason*, the former, Son to *Jovius*, and the latter, to *Gaudentius*, for Hostages: and therewithal told 'em, that he would send them

them two under the like circumſtances out of his Nobility, and having made peace upon ſuch terms would lead his Army out of *Noricum* into *Pannonia*. But *Alarichus* demanding Peace upon theſe conditions, the Emperour refus'd him his Requeſt, although he muſt have of neceſſity done one thing or other of two that were before him, if he would have diſpoſed of his Affairs the right way. For he muſt either have deferr'd the War, and procured a Peace for ſome ſmall ſum, or if he would rather fight, he ought to have muſter'd up all the Legions that he could, and poſted them in the Enemies way to obſtruct the *Barbarians* from coming any further on. Beſides which, he ſhould have choſen a fit Man to lead 'em and made *Sarus* General of the War, who in his own perſon was ſufficient to ſtrike a terrour into the Enemies, upon the account both of his courage and his experience in Warlike Affairs, and had alſo a number of *Barbarians* under him enough to make a good defence. But he, on the contrary, neither embracing the offers of Peace, nor making *Sarus* his Friend, nor muſtering up the *Roman* Army, but placing all his hopes in the deſires and wiſhes of *Olympius*, was the cauſe of ſo many calami-

ties to the Commonwealth. For he made such Men Commanders as were contemptible in the esteem of the Enemy; to wit, *Turpilio*, whom he made General of the Horse, *Varanes* of the Foot, *Vigilantius* of the Domesticks, and so of all other things accordingly. Upon which account all Men despaired and seemed to have the utter ruin of *Italy* even then before their Eyes.

Now seeing these things were thus order'd, *Alarichus* began his expedition against *Rome*, and laugh'd at the preparations made by *Honorius*. And because he would not go about such a weighty business with onely equal but rather far greater Forces than his Enemy, he sent for his Wifes Brother, called *Ataulphus*, out of the upper *Pannonia*, to be his Partner in the Action, as having a very considerable number of *Gotths* and *Hunns* to bring along with him. Yet nevertheless he did not stay for his Brother-in law's coming, but marching forward in haste, passed by *Aquileia* and all the other Cities in order that lie beyond the River *Po*, I mean *Concordia*, *Altinum*, and *Cremona*. And when he had cross'd the River, being as it were at some Festival, and having no Enemy to stop him, he came into a certain

tain Caſtle of *Bononia*, which they call *Oecubaria*. From whence paſſing by all *Æmilia*, and leaving *Ravenna* behind him he came to *Ariminum*, a great City of *Flaminia*. But moving by that alſo with ſpeed, as he did by all the reſt that were in that Province, he came into *Picenum*, which is a Nation lying in the extremity of the *Ionian* Bay. And from thence marching towards *Rome*, he ſack'd all the Caſtles and Towns that were in his way; inſomuch that if *Arſacius* and *Tarentius*, the two Eunuchs, had not made haſte and ſo prevented the coming of the *Barbarians* into theſe parts as to bring *Eucherius*, *Stilico*'s Son, before that time to *Rome*, to die according to the Emperour's Order, and executed what the Emperour commanded, the Youth had certainly fallen into the hands of *Alarichus* and been ſaved. But the Eunuchs having fulfilled what was enjoyn'd 'em upon that ſcore, and deliver'd *Thermantia*, *Honorius*'s Wife, to her Mother, they took ſhipping and went over to the Emperour in *Gallia Celtica*, where he then lived, becauſe they could not go unto him the ſame way they came. Now upon this account the Emperour thinking he ſhould do good ſervice to the Commonwealth, if he rewarded theſe two Eunuchs for their great exploits in reſto-

ring *Thermantia* to her Mother, and killing *Eucherius*, he made *Tarentius* Imperial Chamberlain, and gave *Arsacius* the next Place under him. Then having taken off *Bathanarius*, who was Master of the Soldiers [*militum Magister*, General] in the greater *Libya*, and Husband to *Stilico*'s Sister, he gave that Command to *Heraclianus* who was the Man that kill'd *Stilico*, and receiv'd his Honour as the reward of that Action.

But when *Alarichus* was near *Rome*, besieging those within, the Senate suspected *Serena* for bringing the *Barbarians* against their City. And therefore both the whole Senate and *Placidia*, who was the Emperour's own Sister by the Mothers side thought fit that she should die for it, as being the cause of all the present mischief. For *Alarichus*, said they, when *Serena* is removed, will draw off from the City, because there will be no body left from whom he can hope to have the City betray'd into his hands. But this suspicion was really false; for *Serena* never thought of any such thing. However she suffer'd justly for her impieties toward the Gods, as I am now agoing to tell you. When *Theodosius* the Elder, having defeated the Rebel *Eugenius*, came to *Rome*, and created in all people a Contempt

tempt or neglect of divine Worſhip, denying to defray the charge of holy things out of the publick Stock, the Prieſts of both Sexes were turn'd out and baniſh'd, and the Temples bereft of all their Sacrifices. Whereupon *Serena*, ſcoffing at 'em, would needs ſee the Temple dedicated to the Mother of the Gods. In which when ſhe ſaw certain [*Bracelets* and] attire about the neck of *Rheas* Statue, ſuitable to the divine Worſhip which was paid to her, She took it off of the Statue and put it about her own Neck. And when a certain old Maid, that was the onely perſon left of all the Veſtal Virgins, upbraided her with ſuch a wicked Action even to her Teeth, ſhe not onely gave her very ill Language, but commanded her Attendants to carry or drive her away. But notwithſtanding, the old Woman, as ſhe was going from the place, pray'd that whatſoever was due ro ſuch impiety, might fall upon *Serena*, her Husband and Children. But *Serena* took no notice of what ſhe ſaid, and went out of the Temple well pleas'd with the Attire that ſhe had gotten; though afterward there often appear'd to her ſomething not onely fantaſtick, in a Dream, but real, when ſhe was awake, which did foretel her Death. But others too, beſides her, ſaw the like things:

things: and so far did that just Vengeance, which uses to punish the wicked, discharge its duty, that though *Serena* knew what would happen, she took no care of her self, but submitted that Neck about which she had put the Goddesses Attire, even to * an Halter. It is likewise said, that *Stilico*, for another impiety not much unlike this of *Serena*, did not escape the secret hand of Vengeance. For he also is said to have commanded the Doors of the *Capitol* at *Rome*, that were cover'd with a great quantity of of Gold, to be uncased; and that those who were employ'd in that Affair, found upon some part of the Doors, this Inscription, [*These things*] *are kept for a wretched Prince.* And so it prov'd, even as the Inscription foretold, for he died most wretchedly and most miserably too.

* What Death *Serena* died I cannot learn from those Authors that I have by me. But I should wonder, if *Zosimus* did not refer such accidents to these to *a contempt of the Gods*, for *there is no fitter defence for false worship than what is derived from Tables.* But it is indeed credible that *Serena* hang'd her self, though upon far different occasions, as, the *frustration of her ambitious hopes, and the unexpected divorce of her Daughter*, who being now sent home again, *Serena* had no hopes left of being an Empress, nor any reason to cherish her exalted thoughts. He likewise in the same Comma or paragraph tells you such an other Story of *Stilico*, though we may easily demonstrate the cause of his Death. For he had rais'd the *Alemans*, *Suevians*, *Vandals*, and *Burgundians* to extort the Empire from his Son-in-law to his Son. For he is noted with this Character in *Paul. Diac. l.* 13. He gave the blood of all mankind to purchase a Purple Garment for one Boy.

Yet

Yet notwithſtanding *Serenas* death did not remove *Alarichus* from the Siege, but he block'd up the Gates all round, and having poſſeſs'd himſelf of the River *Tiber*, obſtructed the ſupply of neceſſaries from the Port to the City. Which when the *Romans* ſaw, they reſolv'd yet ſtill to perſevere, becauſe they expected almoſt every day to have Auxiliaries ſent 'em from *Ravenna*. But when they found no body came, and that they were diſappointed of their hopes, they thought good to retrench the meaſure of the allowance of Corn [or other proviſions] and to order that there ſhould not be dreſs'd [or prepared for eating] above one half of what was formerly for each day; and afterward, when their ſcarcity encreaſed upon them, a third part onely. And ſeeing there was no remedy for their Relief, but that all their Belly-timber [Succours of the Belly, πατῆ γαςρὶ βοηθῶν] was ſpent, a Plague, as was probable it would, ſucceeded their famine, and all places were full of dead bodies. And becauſe the dead could not be buried without the City (for the Enemies kept all the Paſſes or Avenues) the City was their Sepulchre. So that it was like to be diſpeopled upon another account, and, though there had been no want of Victuals, yet the very ſtench

ſtench ariſing from the dead bodies was enough to infect and corrupt their bodies. But *Læta*, Wife to *Gratian*, who had been ſometime Emperour, and her Mother *Piſſamena* ſupply'd a great many with neceſſary food for ſome time. For, ſince the Treaſury allowed them the Proviſions of an Imperial Table, through the generoſity of *Theodoſius* who gave 'em that priviledg, a great many receiv'd the kindneſs of thoſe two Women, and from their Houſe got that which fortified 'em againſt a Famine. But the malady was come to that extremity, as that they were in danger to eat one another, they try'd all ways which are abominable in the eyes of mankind, and then reſolv'd to ſend an Embaſſy to the Enemy, and acquaint them, that they were ready to accept of any reaſonable conditions of Peace, and at the ſame time more ready for War, ſince the *Roman* People had taken up Arms, and through their continual exerciſe in Military Affairs were grown very much inclinable to fight. Now *Baſilius* being choſen their Embaſſador, who was a *Spaniard*, and Governour of a Province, *Johannes* went out along with him (who was the chief of the Imperial Notaries, called *Tribunes*) becauſe he was acquainted with *Alaricius*, and [might be] a means to reconcile

concile them. For the *Romans* did not certainly know, whether *Alarichus* himſelf were come thither or no, or whether it were he that beſieged *Rome*. For they were cheated with a former Report that it was another Perſon who had been *Stilico*'s Friend, and brought him to the City.

When therefore the Embaſſadors came to him, they were aſhamed of that ignorance in which the *Romans* had been ſo long kept, but deliver'd the Senates Meſſage. Which when *Alarichus* heard, and that the people having been uſed to Arms were ready for a War; *The thickeſt graſs*, ſays he, *is more eaſily cut than the thinneſt*: and having ſo ſaid, he laugh'd at the Embaſſadors moſt exceſſively. But when they came to talk of Peace, he uſed ſuch expreſſions as were beyond all barbarous Arrogance, or inſolence. For he ſaid, He would not relinquiſh the Siege upon any other Condition, than that he ſhould have all the Gold and Silver in the City, together with all the Houſhold goods in it, beſides the *Barbarian* Slaves. Whereupon when one of the Embaſſadors ſaid, If you take all theſe things, what will you leave for the Citizens? He reply'd, Their Souls. So when the Embaſſadors had received this Anſwer, they deſired

ſired time to communicate it to the Citizens and adviſe with them what was to be done. Which leave having obtain'd, they related all the Diſcourſe that had paſs'd in that Embaſſy. Whereupon the *Romans* being perſuaded that it was really *Alarichus* who fought againſt 'em, and deſpairing of all things that conduce to humane ſtrength, they call'd to mind that help which the City had formerly found in inſurrections; and that they, by tranſgreſſing their ancient Ceremonies were left deſtitute of it.

But whilſt they were conſidering of theſe things, *Pompeianus* the Prefect of the City, litt by chance upon ſome Men, that came out of *Tuſcany* to *Rome*, and ſaid, That a certain Town, called *Neveia*, had freed it ſelf from imminent dangers, inaſmuch as it had beaten off the *Barbarians*, who beſet it, by Thunder and Lightning which was caus'd through their Devotion to the Gods in the ancient manner of Worſhip. And therefore when he had diſcourſed with theſe Men, he did what he well could do out of the Books belonging to the Chief *Prieſts* or *Pontifies*. But when he remember'd what Opinion was then prevalent, he reſolv'd to go about his buſineſs with more ſecurity, and propoſed the whole matter to the Biſhop

of

of the City, whoſe Name was *Innocentius*. And he truly preferring the ſafety of the City before his own Opinion, permitted 'em privately to do whatever they knew how to do. But they pretending that what they could do would do no good unleſs the publick and uſual Sacrifices were perform'd, the Senate went up into the *Capitol*, and there, as alſo in the ſeveral Markets of the City, did all that was to be perform'd; but no body daring to communicate in their Religious, ancient Worſhip, they diſmiſs'd thoſe Men who came out of *Thuſcany*, and apply'd themſelves to reconcile the *Barbarian* as well as they could. To which end they again ſent Embaſſadours; and after they had made long Speeches on both ſides, they agreed that the City ſhould give five thouſand pound of Gold, and thirty thouſand of Silver, with four thouſand Silk Coats, three thouſand Fleeces or Fells of a Scarlet die, and three thouſand pounds of Pepper. But becauſe the City had no publick Stock, there was a neceſſity for thoſe Senators who had Eſtates, to undertake the collection of it by way of Aſſeſsment. Now *Palladius* being impower'd to rate every one according to his Eſtate, but not able to make up the whole ſum out of all, either upon the account that ſome con-

concealed part of their goods, or becauſe the City was otherwiſe impoveriſh'd through the continual covetouſneſs and exactions of the Emperours Magiſtrates; that wicked *Dæmon* or *Genius*, who at that time preſided over mankind, and ſtirr'd up the Perſons employ'd in this Affair to the higheſt pitch of all wickedneſs. For they reſolv'd to ſupply what was wanting, out of the Attire that was about the Statues [of the Gods]: which was in effect no other, than to render thoſe Images (that had been ſet up, and dedicated to holy Rites and Ceremonies, and were adorn'd with decent Attire, for that they had kept the City in perpetual happineſs) when that ceremonious Worſhip ſhould be in any degree diminiſhed) inanimate and inefficacious. And becauſe all things muſt then needs conſpire to ruin the City, they not onely robb'd the Statues of their Ornaments, but alſo melted ſome of 'em down that were made of Gold and Silver: among which was that of *Fortitude*, or *Valour*, which the *Romans* call, *Virtus*. Which being deſtroy'd, all the *Roman* Valour and Courage that remained, was quite extinguiſh'd; according to that which Men who were converſant about holy Rites and ancient Ceremonies from that time foretold.

Now

Now the Money being raiſed in this manner, they thought fit to ſend an Embaſſy to the Emperour, to conſer with him about the enſuing Peace [and to inform him) that *Alarichus* did not require Money onely, but certain Noblemens Sons likewiſe for Hoſtages: upon which Condition alſo he would not onely make a Peace, but enter into an Alliance with the Emperour and aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt all thoſe who had a mind to oppoſe 'em. Whereupon the Emperour reſolving to conclude the Peace, the Money was paid to the *Barbarians*. Which being done, *Alarichus* gave the Citizens the Freedom of a Market for three days together, and leave to go ſecurely out at certain Gates of the City, as alſo to bring up their Corn from the Port. By which means when the Citizens had taken breath again, by ſelling all the remaining part of their goods, or exchanging one thing for another, to buy them neceſſaries, the *Barbarians* departed from *Rome*, and pitch'd their Camp in certain places about *Tuſcany*. And then almoſt all the Slaves that were in *Rome*, flying daily out of the City enrolled themſelves among the *Barbarians*, to the number of forty thouſand. But

ſome of the *Barbarians* who were ſtragling up and down attraqued the *Romans* as they were going down to the Port, and bringing up their proviſions. Which when *Alarichus* underſtood, he uſed his utmoſt endeavour to hinder ſuch proceedings, as being done without his knowledg or conſent. And now they ſeemed to have ſome ſmall reſpit from their misfortunes. Whilſt the Emperour *Honorius* at *Ravenna* was juſt entring upon the Conſulſhip, having had that Honour eight times, and the Emperour *Theodoſius*, in the Eaſt, three times. At which juncture the Rebel *Conſtantine* ſent Eunuchs to *Honorius*, to beg his pardon for having receiv'd the Empire. For he did not take it of his own choice, but by compulſion from the Soldiers. Which Petition of his when the Emperour heard, and ſaw it was not eaſy for him, ſince *Alarichus* and his *Barbarians* were ſo near, to prepare for other Wars; beſides the care that he took of his Kinſmen who were in the Rebels cuſtody (as, *Verenianus* and *Didymus*, by name) he not onely granted their Requeſt; but ſent him alſo an Imperial Robe. But indeed his care for his Kinſmen was all in vain and fruſtrare, they being

being kill'd before this Embaſſy. When therefore he had ſo done, he ſent the Eunuchs home.

But the Peace with *Alarichus* being not yet confirm'd, becauſe the Emperour had neither given him the Hoſtages, nor fulfill'd all his deſires, there were Embaſſadours ſent from the Senate to *Ravenna*, [whoſe names were] *Cecilianus*, *Attalus*, and *Maximianus*. Who though they lamented the ſad misfortunes that had befallen *Rome*, and tragically deſcribed the multitude of them that periſh'd there; yet they gained nothing by it, by reaſon that *Olympius* confounded all Affairs and put a ſtop to thoſe things that ſeemed to go in their due courſe. Upon which account the Emperour diſmiſſing the Embaſſadours without their Errand for which they came, he turn'd out *Theodorus* from being Prefect of the City and gave the place to *Cecicilianus*, commanding that *Attalus* ſhould be Treaſurer. But ſeeing *Olympius* made it his whole buſineſs to ſearch in all places for thoſe that were reported to know any thing of *Stilico*'s Affairs, there were ſeveral Perſons call'd in queſtion upon that falſe Accuſation, as *Marcellianus* and *Salonius*, two Brothers,

belonging to the Regiment of the Imperial Notaries. And these two did *Olympius* deliver to the Prefect of the Court; by whose Order though their bodies were beaten or drubb'd with all sorts of severities in that kind, yet they discover'd no tittle of what *Olympius* would fain have known.

Now the Affairs of *Rome* being in no better a condition than before, the Emperour thought fit to send for five Regiments of Soldiers out of *Dalmatia* from their own Quarters there, to guard the City of *Rome*. Which Regiments were made up of six thousand Men, who for carriage and strength were the chief of all the *Roman* Army: and their General's Name was *Valens*, a Person ready to attempt the greatest and most hazardous enterprise. He therefore would not seem so much a Coward as to go that way which the Enemy did not guard; so that *Alarichus* expecting till he came by and falling upon him with his whole Army, subdu'd all those that were with him, excepting only an hundred that with much ado escaped, together with their Commander. For he arrived safe at *Rome*, along with *Attalus*, who was sent by the Senate to the Emperour. But seeing

ſeeing more miſchiefs were ſtill added to the preſent ones, this *Attalus* when he came to *Rome*, turn'd *Heliocrates* out of his Office, which the Emperour had given him by the perſuaſions of *Olympius*. For *Heliocrates* was employ'd to ſearch into the Eſtates of them that were baniſh'd upon the account of their Acquaintance or Relation to *Stilico*, and return 'em into the Treaſury. But he being a moderate, good-natur'd Man, look'd upon it as an impiety to inſult upon the unfortunate; and therefore did not make any ſtrict enquiry into things, but on the contrary ſent many of the Parties notice by a private Meſſenger to hide what they could, inſomuch that being reckon'd a vile Fellow upon this ſcore, he was brought to *Ravenna*, to ſuffer for his humanity toward thoſe Men that were under ſuch misfortunes. And he had certainly died for it, through the cruelty that then obtein'd, if he had not got into a Church belonging to the Chriſtians. But *Maximillianus* who fell into the hands of the Enemy, was ſold to his Father *Mariniaus* for thirty thouſand pieces of Gold. For ſince the Emperour defer'd the Peace, and did not fulfill or perform

what was agreed upon, the *Romans* could not any longer paſs freely out of the City. Wherefore the Senate ſent Embaſſadours a ſecond time to the Emperour about the Peace, along with whom the Biſhop of *Rome* alſo went. There were alſo ſome *Barbarians* in their Retinue, ſent by *Alarichus*, to protect 'em from their Enemies who infeſted the ſeveral Roads.

But when theſe Embaſſadours were come to the Emperour, *Ataulphus*, whom *Alarichus* ſent for (as I told you before) was come over the *Alps*, that lie as you go from *Pannonia* to *Venice*. Which when the Emperour heard, and that he had no great Army with him, he order'd all his Soldiers both Horſe and Foot, as many as were in the ſeveral Cities, to go with their own Officers and meet him. But to *Olympius*, who was Captain of the Court-guards he gave the *Hunns* that were in *Ravenna*, to the number of three hundred. Who when they ſaw thoſe that came - - - - - - - [Here is a Chaſm or Balk,] which may be ſupply'd with theſe words [were arrived] at a City after the word [came] and then it runs thus, Who wen they ſaw thoſe that came, were arrived at a City called

called *Pisa*, they made an attaque and engaging with 'em, kill'd eleven hundred *Goths*, and return'd safe to *Ravenna* with the loss of onely seventeen Men.

But the Eunuchs about the Court made such informations to the Emperour against *Olympius*, as the cause of all the ill accidents that had befallen the Commonwealth, that they procur'd his removal out of his present Office. Whereupon he, fearing lest he might suffer some greater misfortune, fled away into *Dalmatia*; whilst in the mean time the Emperour sent *Attalus*, Prefect of the City, to *Rome*, and being very solicitous that nothing belonging to the Treasury should be conceal'd, he sent *Demetrius* also to assist *Attalus*, and make a diligent enquiry into the publick Stock. And when he had made many innovations as to the Magistracy and other matters also; turning out those that were formerly in great Authority and conferring their Offices upon others, he appointed *Generidus* likewise to be Commander of all the Forces in *Dalmatia*, who was already Captain General of all the rest that were posted or engarrison'd in the upper *Pannonia*, *Noricum* and *Rhætia*, even as far as the *Alps*. Now this *Generi-*

dus though he were of a *Barbarian* extract, was, in his disposition inclined to all sorts of Virtues and the freest from covetousness of any Man living. But whilst he adhered to ancient Rites and could not endure to relinquish the old way of worshipping the Gods, there was a Law promulgated, that prohibited all who were not Christians from wearing a Girdle in the Court. Which Law being establish'd, *Generidus* who was a Military Officer at that time in *Rome*, laid down his Girdle and kept at home in his own House. And when the Emperour requir'd him as being enrolled among the Officers, to come to Court in his due course; He reply'd, There was a Law that forbad him the use of a Girdle, or that any one at all should be reckon'd among the Officers who did not reverence the Christian Religion. To which when the Emperour answer'd, That the Law [he cited] did indeed oblige all others, excepting him alone, who had undertaken such dangerous enterprises upon the score of the Commonwealth; He made him this return, That he could not suffer himself to accept of such an Honour that seemed to affront all the rest who upon the account of that

that Law had been put out of Commiſſion. Nor did he execute his Office, till the Emperour being forced both by neceſſity and ſhame together, had utterly aboliſh'd the Law; and gave all people leave to enjoy their own Opinions in all Places or Offices whether they were Military or Civil.

Now *Generidus*, having begun with this piece of Gallantry, imploy'd and inſtructed the Soldiers with continual labours and exerciſes; diſtributing Corn among 'em, and ſuffering no body to take any thing of it away from them, as they were formerly uſed to do; beſides that he himſelf out of his publick Allowance, gave thoſe that took moſt pains convenient encouragement. Since therefore he appear'd ſo great, he was not onely a Terrour to the adjacent *Barbarians*, but a ſecurity alſo to all thoſe Nations which he had under his care. But when the Soldiers mutinied at *Ravenna*, they took poſſeſſion of the Port there, crying out in a rude manner, and demanding that the Emperour would come before 'em. But he, for fear of the inſurrection, being got into ſome private place, one *Jovius* came out among 'em, who was the Prefect of the Court and honour'd with the

the Dignity of a *Patrician*; and making as if he knew not the reason why they mutinied (although himself was said to be the cause of it, together with *Illebichus*, who was Captain of the Domestick Horse) He ask'd them what ground they had to be so violent? But as soon as he heard the Soldiers say, that by all means they must have *Turpillio*, and *Vigilantius* the two Generals with *Terentius* the Imperial Chamberlain and *Arsacius*, next to him in Dignity, deliver'd to 'em; the Emperour fearing lest the Soldiers should revolt, condemn'd the two Generals to perpetual Exile: and they thereupon being put on board a Ship were kill'd by those that should have carry'd 'em [to the place of Banishment.] For so indeed *Jovius* had commanded them to do; as fearing lest if they ever came back again, and discover'd the intrigue that was laid against 'em, they might excite the Emperour to punish him for it. But *Terentius* was sent into the East, whilst *Arsacius* was order'd to live at *Millain*. And when the Emperour had made *Eusebius* Chamberlain in the room of *Terentius*, given *Valens*, *Turpillio*'s Command, and chosen *Ellebichus* Prefect instead of *Vigilantius*, he

he ſeemed in ſome meaſure to aſſwage the fury of the Souldiers.

But *Jovius*, who was Profect of the Court, having transferr'd all the Power of managing the Emperour into his own hands, reſolv'd to ſend Embaſſadours to *Alarichus*, to deſire him to come even to *Ravenna*, and [to tell him] that there they would conclude the Peace. Whereupon *Alarichus* being perſuaded by the Letters that he receiv'd both from the Emperour and *Jovius* too, and being come as far as *Ariminum*, thirty miles from *Ravenna*, *Jovius* made haſte thither alſo, as having been *Alarichus*'s Friend and familiar Acquaintance in *Epirus*, to treat concerning the League. Now *Alarichus* made theſe following Demands: That he would have ſo much Gold every year, and ſuch a quantity of Corn; as likewiſe that he and the *Barbarians* that were with him might inhabit both the *Venetias*, *Noricum* and *Dalmatia*. Which Demands of his when *Jovius* had written out in the preſence of *Alarichus*, he ſent 'em to the Emperour, with others Letters which he privately convey'd to him, to adviſe him that he would make *Alarichus* General of both his Armies; for that he might thereby induce him to remit ſomething of the ſeverity in his Conditions,

and

and make a Peace upon pretty tolerable and moderate terms. But when the Emperour receiv'd that Epiſtle, he condemn'd *Jovius* for his forward raſhneſs, and ſent him a Letter, wherein he told him, It was fit that he indeed, as being Prefect of the Court, and underſtanding the ſtrength of the publick Revenues, ſhould aſſign the quantity of Corn and Gold, but that he would never confer any Dignity or Command either upon *Alarichus* or any of his Family.

Which Epiſtle as ſoon as *Jovius* receiv'd, he open'd and read it, not onely to himſelf but in *Alarichus*'s hearing: who though he bore all other things very patiently, yet when he ſaw the Generalſhip deny'd not onely to himſelf, but to all his Family alſo, he was ſo enraged, that immediately he commanded his *Barbarians* to march for *Rome* with all ſpeed, to revenge the Affront, offer'd both to him and all his Family. But *Jovius* being put to a ſtand when he ſaw the Emperour's unexpected Letter, went back to *Ravenna*. And being deſirous to acquit himſelf of all blame, he bound *Honorius* under ſeveral Oaths, never to make Peace with *Alarichus*, but to wage War againſt him con-

continually: as he himself likewise swore, by touching the Emperour's Head, and made all others, that were in any Office, do the same.

Affairs being thus conserted, the Emperour, who was to make War against *Alarichus*, call'd ten thousand *Hunns* to his assistance. And being willing to have Provision ready for 'em against they came, he commanded the *Dalmatians* to bring in Corn, and Sheep and Oxen; sending his Scouts also to enquire, how *Alarichus* intended to march to *Rome*; and mustering up his Forces from all quarters. But *Alarichus* in the mean time repented of his intended Voyage to *Rome*, and sent the Bishops of each City, not only by way of Embassadours, but also to advise the Emperour, not to suffer such a City as that, which had commanded a great part of the World for above three thousand years, to be deliver'd up, and destroy'd by the *Barbarians*, nor such magnificent Structures to be demolish'd by Hostile flames, but that he would rather make a Peace upon some reasonable Conditions. For the *Barbarians* [he would have 'em tell the Emperour] neither wanted provisions, nor would he desire those Provinces now, which

for-

formerly he had a mind to dwell in, onely the two *Norici*, that lie upon the extream parts of *Istor*, harass'd with continual incursions, and bring in but a small Revenue to the Treasury. Besides which he would have only so much Corn every year, as the Emperour should think fit, and would remit the Gold: so that there should be a Friendship and Alliance betwixt him and the *Romans* against every one that took up Arms, or rise in opposition to the Empire. Which when *Alarichus* had modestly and soberly proposed, (whilst all People admired his moderation) *Jovius* and those that were the Emperour's greatest Ministers, said his Demands could not be possibly granted, since all Men that were in any Commission had sworn not to make Peace with *Alarichus*. For if their Oath had been given to God, they might indeed have probably broke it, and left it to the Deities Goodness to pardon 'em, for their impiety, but since they had sworn by the Emperour's Head, it was by no means lawful for 'em to offend against so great a Vow: So cautious were they that then had the management of publick Affairs, as being bereft of Gods Care and Protection.

A New

A New

HISTORY

Written by

Count *ZOSIMUS*,

Sometime Advocate of the Treasury.

The Sixth Book.

ALARICHUS therefore being thus affronted for these his reasonable Demands, made haste towards *Rome* with all his Army, designing to lay close Siege to that City. But at the same time there came one *Jovius*, a Man of great Learning and Virtue, from *Constantine*, who had usurp'd the Government of *Gallia Celtica*, to *Honorius* by way

way of an Embaſſadour, deſiring that the former Peace, which they had agreed upon, might be confirm'd, and begging pardon for the killing of *Verenianus* and *Didymius*, who were kinſmen to the Emperour *Honorius*. For he made an Apology and ſaid, that they were not taken off by *Conſtantine's* good will. But ſeeing *Honorius* much troubled, he ſaid it was convenient for him, ſince he was ſo embaraſs'd with the Affairs of *Italy*, to make ſome ſmall conceſſions: and that if he would ſuffer him to go back to *Conſtantine*, and tell him what circumſtances *Italy* was then in, that he himſelf would ſhortly return thither with all the Forces in *Celtica*, *Spain*, and *Britain*, to relieve both *Italy* and *Rome*. Upon which Conditions *Jovius* was permitted to depart.

But ſince I have not given you a juſt Account concerning the ſtate of *Celtica*, 'tis fit I ſhould tell you particularly how things were carried there formerly. When *Arcadius* was Emperour (*Honorius* being the ſeventh time, and *Theodoſius* the ſecond time Conſuls) the Soldiers in *Britain* made an inſurrection, and promoted *Marcus* to the Imperial Throne, paying all obedience to him as their chief Lord in thoſe parts. But ſome time after when they had kill'd him, for not complying

with

with their humours, they ſet up *Gratian*, whom they preſented with a Purple Robe and Diadem, and attended upon like an Emperour. But being diſguſted at him likewiſe, they in four months after depoſed and murder'd him, delivering the Empire up into the hands of *Conſtantine*. Who, having made *Juſtinianus* and *Nevigaſtes* Commanders of the *Celtick* Soldiery, left *Britain* and went over; but coming to *Bononia* (which is the neareſt City to the Sea-ſide, lying in the lower *Germany*) and having ſtay'd there ſome days, he made all the Armies betwixt that and the *Alps*, which part *Gallia* and *Italy*, his Friends, ſo that he now ſeemed ſecure of the Empire. But at the ſame time *Stilico* ſent *Sarus*, as General, with an Army againſt *Conſtantine*; who meeting the General *Juſtinianus* with all the Forces which he had, ſlew him and moſt of his Soldiers: and, having made himſelf Maſter of great Spoils, went to beſiege *Valentia*, where he underſtood that *Conſtantine* had taken up his Quarters, as being a City well guarded and ſecure for him to reſide at. Whilſt *Nevigaſtes* the ſurviving Commander making ſome overtures of Peace to *Sarus*, he received him as his Friend; but *Sarus*, though he mutually both gave and took an

Oath to the contrary, immediatly kill'd him, without any regard to what he had ſworn.

But when *Conſtantine* had made *Edobinchus*, a *Frank* by extract, but born in *Britain*, and *Gerontius*, a *Britain*, his Commanders [in the room of *Juſtinian* and *Nevigaſtes*] *Sarus*, who was affraid of theſe two upon the account of their Military experience and Courage, raiſed the Siege from before *Valentia* when he had lay'n there ſeven days. But *Conſtantine*'s Officers attaqued him ſo briskly with their greateſt vigour that he had much ado to eſcape alive, and was fain to give all his Spoils to the *Bacaudæ*, to let him paſs into *Italy*. Now therefore when *Sarus* was thus got ſafe into *Italy*, *Conſtantine*, who had muſter'd up all his Forces, reſolv'd to ſet a ſufficient guard upon the *Alps*, in three places, which obſtruct the paſſage out of *Celtica* into *Italy* and ſo onward, commonly call'd the *Cottian*, the *Penine*, and the *Maritime Alps*. And the reaſon why he took ſuch care was this:

Bacaudæ, vel Robbers, at mean.

Some years before, when *Arcadius* was in his ſixth Conſulate and *Probus* was his Collegue, the *Vandals* mixing with the *Alanes* and *Suevians* came over theſe places, and plunder'd the Countries beyond the *Alps*. Where when they had made a great ſlaughter, they became ſo formidable

dable even to the Armies in *Britain* alſo, that they forced 'em (for fear leſt they might proceed as far as their Country) to chooſe ſeveral Uſurpers, as *Marcus*, *Gratianus*, and after them *Conſtantinus*: Againſt whom there was a ſharp engagement; but the *Romans* overcame, and kill'd moſt part of the *Barbarians*: and yet, becauſe they did not purſue thoſe that ran away (or otherwiſe they might certainly have kill'd 'em every Man) they gave 'em time to recruit, and by muſtering up a great number of *Barbarians*, to put themſelves once more into a fighting poſture. Now upon this account did *Conſtantine* ſet Guards upon theſe places, that thoſe People might not have ſo free a paſſage into *Gallia*. He likewiſe ſecured the *Rhine*, which had been neglected ſince the Emperour *Julian*'s time. And having thus ordered Affairs throughout all *Gallia*, he put his eldeſt Son *Conſtans* into the Habit of a *Cæſar* and ſent him into *Spain*. For he had a mind to be abſolute Lord of all the Countries there, not onely out of a deſire to enlarge his own Dominions, but to retrench the Power of *Honorius*'s Kinſmen. For he was afraid, leſt when they had gathered together an Army of the Soldiers that were in thoſe parts, they might, one time or

other, croſs over the *Pyrenian* Mountains and ſet upon him, whilſt *Honorius*, [probably] might ſend an Army out of *Italy* and by environing of him on every ſide, depoſe him from his [uſurped] Throne. So *Conſtans* went over into *Spain*, having *Terentius* for his General, and *Apollinarius* Preſect of his Court. And when he had appointed all the Officers about his Court both Military and Civil; He ſent his Army under their Conduct againſt thoſe who were akin to the Emperour *Theodoſius* and diſturb'd all *Spain* at that time. Who when they had made the firſt Onſet againſt *Conſtans* with their *Luſitanian* [or *Portugueze*] Soldiers and found themſelves overpower'd, they muſter'd up a vaſt company of Slaves and Countrey Fellows, by whoſe aſſiſtance they had like to have reduced him into moſt dangerous circumſtances; but even in this caſe too they failed of their expectation, whilſt they and their Wives were taken Priſoners by *Conſtans*. Which accident being told to their Brothers, *Theodoſius* and *Lagodius*, the one of 'em ran into *Italy*, and the other eſcaped ſafe into the Eaſt. Now when *Conſtans* had done theſe exploits in *Spain*, he return'd to his Father *Conſtantine*, carrying *Verenianus* and *Didymius* along with him, but leaving his General, *Gerontius*,

Gerontius, there, with the *Gallick* Soldiers, to guard the Pass from *Celtica* into *Spain*: although the *Spanish* Soldiers did desire that they might be trusted with that Affair, as they had been formerly, and that the safety of their Countrey might not be committed to the care of Strangers. So *Verenianus* and *Didymus* being brought to *Constantine*, were immediately put to Death.

But after that, *Constans* was a second time sent into *Spain*, and had *Justus* for his General. At which *Gerontius* being disgusted, and having obliged the Soldiers in those parts, he incited the *Barbarians* that were in *Gallia Celtica* to rise in opposition against *Constantine*. Whom seeing *Constantine* was not able to withstand, for that the greater part of his Army was in *Spain*, the *Barbarians* beyond the *Rhine* did so licentiously over run all places, and reduced not onely the *Britains* but some of the *Celtick* Nations also to such necessity, that they revolted from the Empire, and lived no longer under the *Roman* Laws but as they pleas'd themselves. The *Britains* therefore took up Arms and ventur'd upon any dangerous enterprise upon the account of their own safety, till they had freed their Cities from the *Barbarians* that besieged

'em. In like manner did all the *Armorichan* Countrey [*Brittaigne* in *France*] with the other Provinces in *Gallia*, who, in imitation of *Britain*, deliver'd themſelves the ſame way; by turning out the *Roman* Magiſtrates or Officers, and ſetting up a Government, ſuch as they pleas'd, of their own.

This Revolt or Defection therefore of *Britain* and the *Celtick* Nations, happen'd when *Conſtantine* uſurp'd the Empire, by whoſe neglect of Government the *Barbarians* were emboldened to commit ſuch Ravage. But in the mean time *Alarichus* in *Italy*, ſeeing he could not gain a Peace upon the Conditions that he propoſed, nor had receiv'd any Hoſtages, invaded *Rome* once more, and threaten'd to ſtorm it, if the Citizens would not take his part and go along with him againſt the Emperour *Honorius*. To which propoſal they ſo long defer'd their Anſwer, that he beſieged the City; and marching to the Port, though he was ſome days before he could take it, yet at laſt he made himſelf Maſter of it. And finding that all the City Stores lay there, he threaten'd to diſtribute them among his own Men, unleſs the *Romans* would forthwith conſent to his Propoſals. Wherefore the whole Se-

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nate met, and having consulted what they should do, comply'd with all that *Alarichus* commanded of 'em. For there was no avoiding Death, since no relief of Provisions was brought in from the Port to the City. Accordingly they receiv'd *Alarichus*'s Embassy, invited him to their City, and, as they were commanded, set *Attalus*, Prefect of the City, upon an Imperial Throne, with a Purple Robe and Crown: who presently declared *Lampadius* Prefect of the Court, and *Marcianus*, of the City, but gave the Generalships to *Alarichus* and *Valens* (who formerly commanded the *Dalmatian* Legions) distributing the other Offices to others in order. Then with an Imperial Guard about him he went toward the Court, though many ill Omens attended him by the way. The next day going into the Senate he made a Speech, full of Arrogance; wherein he told 'em with great Ostentation that he would subdue the whole World to the *Romans*, and do things greater than that too. For which perhaps the Gods were angry and design'd soon after to remove him.

But the *Romans* therefore were over-joy'd, having not onely gotten other Magistrates that knew how to manage things very well, but *Tertullus* also, at whose

promotion to the Conſulſhip they were exceedingly pleas'd. Nor was any body troubled at theſe things that all Men thought conduced to publick good, but onely the Family of the *Anicii*; becauſe they alone having almoſt all the Money in the City, were ſorry to ſee things go ſo well. But when *Alarichus* wiſely adviſed *Attalus* to ſend a convenient Army into *Africa* and to *Carthage*, thereby to depoſe *Heraclianus* from his Dignity, leſt he, who was *Honorius*'s Friend, ſhould obſtruct their Deſigns, *Attalus* would not hearken to his Admonitions, but being poſſeſs'd with thoſe hopes which the Soothſayers gave him, and perſuaded that he ſhould conquer all *Africa* and *Carthage* too without fighting, he would not ſend forth *Drumas*, who with thoſe *Barbarians* that he had with him, might eaſily have turn'd *Heraclianus* out of his Office; but neglecting *Alarichus*'s Advice, gave the Command of all the Soldiers in *Africa* to one *Conſtantine*, yet ſent no good fighting Men along with him. But in the mean time, whilſt the Affairs of *Africa* were at an uncertainty, he undertook an expedition againſt the Emperour, who was at *Ravenna*. Whereupon the Emperour was ſo troubled and frighted, that he ſent out Embaſſadours

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to deſire that the Empire might be divided between them. But *Jovius* whom *Attalus* had made Prefect of the Court, ſaid that *Attalus* ſhould not leave *Honorius* ſo much as the Title of an Emperour, no not a whole body: for that he would ſend him to live in an Iſland, and maim him in ſome part of his body. At which haughty expreſſions all Men were affrighted, and *Honorius* was juſt ready to take his flight; but when, for that purpoſe, he had gotten together a vaſt number of Ships into the Port at *Ravenna*, ſix Regiments of Auxiliary Soldiers arrived there, which were expected whilſt *Stilico* was alive, but came not out of the Eaſt till that time; being in number ſix thouſand. At whoſe arrival *Honorius* being awaked (as it were) out of a dead ſleep, he entruſted the keeping of the Walls to them that came out of the Eaſt, and reſolv'd to ſtay at *Ravenna*, till he had better intelligence concerning the Affairs of *Africa*. And if *Heraclianus* got the upper-hand, that then, when things were ſetled and ſecure in thoſe parts, he would make War with his whole Army againſt *Alarichus* and *Attalus*: but if, on the contrary, thoſe that he ſent into *Africa*, were worſted, that then he would ſail away into the

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East to *Theodosius* with those Ships which he had in readiness and relinquish the Western Empire.

And thus it was with *Honorius*. But *Jovius*, who was sent Embassadour to *Honorius* (as I told you before) began to think of treasonable Designs, being corrupted by *Honorius* through other Men. He therefore told the Senate that he would be no longer an Embassadour, and withal spoke some unhandsom words before them, as, that they ought, since those whom they had sent into *Africa* had failed of good success, to send *Barbarians* into the War against *Heraclianus*. For since that *Constantine* was slain, their hopes, from that part of the World, were in a wavering condition. But *Attalus* being enraged, and having employ'd others to give Orders what he would have done, there were others sent with Money into *Africa*, to assist in the present juncture there. Which when *Alarichus* understood he was displeased at it, and began to despair of *Attalus*'s concerns, who went about things so rashly as if he were a Fool, without either reason or prospect of advantage. And therefore when he had consider'd of these things, he resolv'd to draw off from *Ravenna*, although he [formerly] determin'd to prosecute the Siege, till he took

took it. For *Jovius* had perſuaded him ſo to do; who when he heard that the General ſent by *Attalus* into *Africa* had utterly miſs'd of his aim, he apply'd himſelf wholly to the Affairs of *Honorius*, and was always ſpeaking ill of *Attalus* to *Alarichus*, out of a Deſign that he had to make him believe, that as ſoon as *Attalus* had ſecur'd the Empire into his own hands, he would firſt contrive the death of *Alarichus* and all that were akin to him. But whilſt *Alarichus* continu'd conſtant to the Oath which he had given to *Attalus*, *Valens*, General of the Horſe or Cavalry, was taken off upon ſuſpition of Treaſon: and *Alarichus* in the mean time went with his Army to all the Cities of *Æmilia*, that had deny'd very eaſily to receive *Attalus* as their Governour. And ſome of them he quickly reduced; but having beſieged *Bononia* which held out many days, without being able to take it, he went toward *Liguria*, to force that Countrey alſo into an acknowledgment of *Attalus* for their Emperour.

But *Honorius* having ſent Letters to the Cities in *Britain*, by way of advice for them to look to themſelves, and rewarded the Soldiers with the Money ſent from *Heraclianus*, he lived at all eaſe

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imaginable, since he had contracted the love of the Soldiers in all places. And *Heraclianus* having seized and guarded all the Ports in *Africa* with all security, so that neither Corn, nor Oil, nor any other provision could be carry'd into the Port of *Rome*, there fell a Famine upon the City, more grievous than the former; and the *Market-men* [or *those that sold things in the Market*] concealed all their goods, out of hopes to get all the Mony to themselves, by setting what price they pleased upon their Commodities. By which means the City was reduced to such extremities, that those who hoped that Man's flesh would be eaten, cry'd out in the *Hippodrome*, or place for Horse-Races, *Lay a certain Rate upon Man's flesh.*

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Upon which occasion *Attalus* went to *Rome*, and call'd the Senate together, who, after some Debate, were, most of 'em of Opinion, that the *Barbarians* and the *Roman* Soldiers, ought to be sent into *Africa* and that *Drumas* should be their General, as being a Person that had given great testimonies of his fidelity and good will already. Onely *Attalus* and a few more did not agree in judgment with the majority of the House, nor was he willing to send out any *Barbarian* as General of a *Roman* Army. Now this was the first time that

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Alarichus had an Eye upon *Attalus* to take him off or depoſe him, though *Jovius* had formerly by continual Calumnies and falſe Accuſations inſtigated him thereunto. Wherefore to put his Deſign in execution, he brought *Attalus* out before the City *Ariminum*, where he then lived, and taking off his Diadem, and ſtripping him of his Purple Robe, he ſent 'em to the Emperour *Honorius*. But though he reduced *Attalus* to the condition of a private Perſon before all the People, yet he kept him and his Son *Ampelius* at his own Houſe, till he had made Peace with *Honorius*; and then he procur'd their Pardon. *Placida* alſo, the Emperour's Siſter was with *Alarichus*, in the nature of an Hoſtage, but had all the Honour and Attendance belonging to the Quality of a Princeſs.

And this was the State of *Italy*, whilſt *Conſtantine* gave his Son *Conſtans* a Diadem, and from a *Cæſar* made him Emperour; after he had depriv'd *Apollinarius* of his Office, and made another Perſon Prefect of the Court in his room. In the mean time *Alarichus* went to *Ravenna*, to confirm the Peace with *Honorius*, but Fortune found out another Obſtacle beyond all expectation, and pointed out, as it were, what ſhould befal the Commonwealth. For whilſt that *Sarus* lay with a few *Barbarians*

barians in *Picenum*, and joyn'd neither with the Emperour, nor *Alarichus* neither, *Ataulphus* who had a grudg againſt him, upon the ſcore of ſome former difference, came with his whole Army to that place where *Sarus* chanced to be. But as ſoon as *Sarus* ſaw him coming, he, finding himſelf not able to fight him (as having only three hundred Men) reſolved to fly to *Honorius* and be his Ally in the War againſt *Alarichus*.----------

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A Supplement of thoſe things, that are wanting in Zoſimus:

SOmething is wanting, but *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca* ſays, That the Hiſtory of *Zoſimus* ended with the taking of *Rome* by *Alarichus*. Now ſeeing *Zoſimus* is deficient in this Point, and that no particular Hiſtory of things relating to the Sacking of *Rome*, is any where elſe to be found, I thought fit to give you the following Account out of *Baptiſta Egnatius*.

Alarichus had beſieged *Rome* for two years together, nor had *Honorius*, who then lay idle at *Ravenna*, either Courage or Power to relieve it. For being concerned for nothing leſs than for the ſafety of the City; now *Stilico* was dead, he had conſtituted no General

General over the Army, to manage the War againſt the *Gotths*. And that put the *Gotths* upon beſieging the City, ſeeing the *Roman* Soldiers were either run away or very ſlothful in their buſineſs. But the *Barbarian* Enemy having in vain beſieged it, nor being able to take it by Storm, was fain to make uſe of Stratagems and Policy. They pretended a Journey into their own Country, and therefore choſe out three hundred young Fellows of great ſtrength and courage, whom they would beſtow upon the *Roman* Nobility as a Preſent, but inſtructed 'em beforehand to oblige their Maſters with all obſervance imaginable, and that upon a certain day prefix'd, about Noon, when the Nobility were either aſleep or otherwiſe unmindful of buſineſs, they ſhould meet of a ſudden at the Gate called *Porta Avinaria*, where having ſurpriz'd and kill'd the Guards, they ſhould open the Gate for them who would be there at hand. In the mean time the *Gotths* delay'd the time of returning home, upon a pretence that they wanted one thing one or another ſtill, till the three hundred Youths making good uſe of their opportunity, upon the day appointed, open'd the Gate to their Countrymen; and the *Gotths* when they were let in fell a plundering all the City, though they did more dif-

dishonour than damage to the Citizens. Now there are some who think, the Gate was open'd by the contrivance of *Proba* a Woman of Quality and great Wealth, who pitied the *Roman* People that died of the Famine and several Distempers, like rotten Sheep. But two things upon this occasion, are worth our Observation: the one, That there was an Edict made by *Alarichus*, that whosoever fled into the Churches of the Saints, especially of *Peter* and *Paul*, should have no violence offer'd to 'em; which was accordingly observ'd with great care. The other was, That when the news was brought to *Honorius* at *Ravenna* that [*Roma*, i.e. *Rome*] was destroy'd; He thought they had meant a certain stout *Gaul*, whose name was *Roma*, and admired very much that he should be so soon gone, with whom he had a little before so merrily diverted himself.

THE END.